

Structure of a Story-Telling Performance Among Carpatho-Rusyns in Zakarpats'ka Oblast' of Ukraine

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Structure of a Story-Telling Performance Among Carpatho-Rusyns in Zakarpats'ka Oblast' of Ukraine: A Case Study

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Abstract

This article analyses the transcript of the story-telling session with two participants, an 89-year-old woman and a 54-year-old man, that I audio-recorded in August of 2014 in the village of Novoselytsia in the Transcarpathian region of Ukraine. Although Western Ukrainian and Rusyn folk stories have been extensively collected since 1880-s (Hnatiuk 1897, 1898, 1900, Rozdol's'kyi 1899, 1900, etc.), entire story-telling sessions in these region have not been studied. My transcript reflects certain features of story-telling performance's macro- and micro-structure that either do not get recorded or get edited out in publications of folk texts, such as interaction between participants, discourse markers for organizing performance, repetitions, and digressions into everyday reality. After analyzing these features using Hymes' approach to linguistic and discourse markers in folk performance, I foreground the precise mechanism through which the collective creation of folklore [Jakobson and Bogatyrev 1980 [1929]] takes place.

Introduction

In the summer of 2014 in Novoselytsia I was fortunate to have the opportunity to record approximately an hour-long story performance: an 89-year-old woman and her 54-year-old adopted son were telling me stories that *dido* 'old man', the woman's late husband, used to tell. I transcribed the entire story-telling session, which consisted of twenty-one stories and the remarks during and between stories. The stories are listed below; the complete transcript may be found in the Appendix to this article.

At first glance, the transcript of the recording appears awkward. Each storyteller uses a lot of repetitions, repairs, and filler words; participants interrupt each other, add some details, argue about others, and remember things after the story is finished. However, all these features are important because they capture the story-telling session I witnessed and participated in. They are essential for analyzing this session as performance, which is the goal of this article. I argue that these corrections, interruptions, and discussions, usually omitted from publications of folk texts, are in the performance for a reason; they are pivotal in establishing the two-way connection between participants, which in its turn shapes the performed piece. Jakobson and Bogatyrev [1980 [1929]] defined

folklore as a collective creation, and it has been one of central ideas in folkloristics for almost a century, but the exact mechanism of collective creation needs studying in the context of each tradition. My research starts to fill this gap for the Rusyn story-telling.

The approach to folklore as performance is also part of the mainstream in folkloristics today. There have been several approaches that stress the central role of performance in folklore. One approach views oral performance, analyzed from the point of view of language and discourse, as central for understanding the connection between verbal art, culture, and society, since performance constantly creates and re-creates tradition. (1) As Hymes put it, “in an oral tradition performance is a mode of existence and realization that is partly *constitutive* of what the tradition is” [1975: 19]. A great deal of research taking this approach has been done, mostly on Native American and other non-European cultures. (2) Another approach that emphasizes performance and its constitutive role in tradition is the oral theory, beginning with Parry and Lord’s work on Homer and Yugoslav epics (3); this approach has largely been confined to the Slavic tradition, and focuses only on epic songs (see, e.g., the overview in Foley [1996a]), rather than on Slavic prose genres.

My basic goal was to study the features of the recorded performance and their functions. Following Hymes, I relied on a number of his methods. Working with the disappearing tradition of Chinookan narrative, Hymes distinguished between performance, which is the main, constitutive aspect of tradition, and other dimensions of folkloric knowledge that may exist even when the tradition of authoritative performance is no longer there. He noticed three dimensions of competence in a cultural tradition, namely, the ability to report, interpret, and perform a certain aspect of culture [Hymes 1975: 14 ff]. Hymes’ insight that reporting and performance are different, though interconnected phenomena, has been corroborated in my material; for one, performance turned out to be more gender-specific than reporting and interpretation (both performers knew, and could discuss the meanings of, all the stories, but they had distinct preferences in telling them.) The reasons for this distinction merit further investigation. Second, Hymes paid special attention to linguistic features of performance, including its discourse features. Applied to the story-telling session in Novoselytsia, this attention to linguistic phenomena revealed that both the macro-level and micro-level in the performance contained a number of structural features that were mostly overlooked before. The reason why these phenomena largely remained invisible for folklore study was that they almost never made it into published texts. On the one hand, they were traditionally considered to be useless interruptions for the smooth flow of narration. In addition, before the advent of audio-recording technology, they were too difficult or even impossible to record. On the macro-level, the phenomena I have observed in this session are: interruptions during performance, exchanges between participants (suggestions by listeners and acceptance or rejection of these suggestions by story-tellers, etc.); discussions before and after stories (negotiations of meaning and supplying additional details); and choice of a new story to tell. (4) On the micro-level, they include

certain types of discourse organizing devices: inversion of word order, connectors, and repetition. Other types of discourse devices used for organizing performance, namely, poetic formulae, have also been studied in epic poetry by the school of Lord and Parry. My material does not include poetic formulae *per se*; however, I show that certain devices present in my material, namely, connectors and repetition, play in prose story-telling a role which is similar to the role of formulae for poetic genres: both groups of phenomena organize performance for performers, giving them time to think, and for the audience, providing a feeling of suspense. Finally, I show that the features of performance present in my material on both the micro- and macro-level are pivotal to the shaping of stories during the process of interaction between story-teller(s) and their audience. This interaction is the precise mechanism of the collective creation, which is the essence of folklore according to Jakobson and Bogatyrev [1929].

I was especially interested in the following issues, which I will address in detail below after a discussion on the narrators' background and the performance context:

- 1 general organization of the performance on the macro-level: its parts, markers for specific parts, ways of linking parts together (e.g., what happens between one story and another);
- 2 techniques for participation of the two story-tellers; their roles, respective contributions, their interaction with each other and with me, their corrections and explanations;
- 3 how the text is generated (in the assumption that it is not all told from memory); what elements are used in its generation; how the text is organized on the micro-level;
- 4 ways of connecting the world of the stories with the present, and the status of stories for the tellers as truth;

Finally, I will consider the roles of these elements generally in the creation of the folk performance and/or text.

Background information

Novoselytsia

The village of Novoselytsia is situated at 48° 41' 59" N 23° 29' 12" E, in the Zakarpats'ka *oblast'* (region), Mizhhir'ia district, in a mountainous area 475 meters above sea level. There are 1054 inhabitants in Novoselytsia according to the 2011 census. The Zakarpats'ka region was part of the Austro-Hungarian Empire, and then, between the wars, became part of Czechoslovakia, but Novoselytsia itself is only a couple of miles away from the mountain ridge separating the Zakarpats'ka region from the L'vivs'ka and Ivano-Frankivs'ka regions that once belonged to Poland. These historical borders are still remembered; in Novoselytsia people often referred to the linguistically and

culturally similar population of the neighboring villages of L'vivs'ka and Ivano-Frankivs'ka regions as *poliaky* (Poles).

The climate in Novoselytsia is moderate, but the winter is long, about 5.5 months, and snowy. The main crop that can be cultivated in this climate is potato; also important are cabbage, cucumbers, onions, beets, and several types of beans; before WWII, people also used to grow oats for bread. Much of the land is used for mowing grass for hay. Most inhabitants practice traditional agriculture: they have gardens, and keep cows, pigs, and chickens; some also keep sheep or goats that are herded in the mountain meadows in summer. There are not many jobs available, and people mostly survive off their land. In order to earn money, men may go to other countries to work as builders; women can earn money by gathering blueberries in summer for sale. There are two schools in the village, an elementary school (4 grades) and a high school (11 grades).

Fieldwork and language

I came to Novoselytsia several times between 1986 and 1992, recording texts and collecting information on the dialect. In 2010 during the expedition financed by a Collaborative Research Project Grant from NEH to study dialects and folklore of Transcarpathia and adjacent regions, I visited Novoselytsia again for a one-day pilot study. Since that time, I have travelled to Novoselytsia several times, recording dialectal texts, mostly from women, and from some men, in their 70s and 80s. (5)

The language my informants speak between themselves and the one I address them in is Rusyn. Rusyn is an idiom with a number of regional varieties; in Slovakia and Serbia, it is viewed as a minority Slavic language, and in Ukraine as a dialect of Ukrainian; for more detailed treatment see, Pugh [2009: vii-20]. My field materials, on which the article is based, reflect the variety spoken in Novoselytsia, which may vary from other types of Rusyn.

Informants, recording session, and its results

The recorded story-telling session took place in August of 2014 in Novoselytsia. My informants were: HK, female, 89 years old, illiterate, and her adopted son, IS, 54 years old, high school graduate. The family's brief history is as follows: HK was born in Pryslyp, the neighboring village, in 1925; she married a man from Novoselytsia and moved there in the 1940s. They had one son who died in 1970; after that they adopted their remote relative, IS, who was in the 9th grade. The goal of adoption was to have a person who could help them work, take care of them in their old age, and inherit their house and land after they were gone. Later IS got married and lived in the couple's house with his wife, LS. His children are now college students and have moved away. IS performs the functions of a reader in the local church; he is respected as a teetotaler.

HK's husband died several years ago, leaving his wife, adopted son and daughter-in-law (around 50 years of age) in the house. Their interaction is friendly and respectful. IS and LS do work in the house and in the field on behalf of HK;

she is still active and participates in household tasks; they ask her not to strain herself, but she states she cannot 'sit around doing nothing.'

The interaction took place in HK's house. I was brought in and introduced by the principal of Novoselytsia high school; he began with the standard introductory words that I was from America and had been coming to Novoselytsia for a number of years because I was interested in 'how people lived in olden times.' I indicated my wish to talk with HK because she was the oldest person in the household and I wanted to record what the members of the older generation remembered. Having received HK's oral consent for recording and using materials for possible publication in America, I started asking her open-ended questions about household practices in the times past (e.g., How did you spin and weave? How did you do laundry? How did you bake bread? etc.). I turned the recorder on at the beginning of the session and left it on for the entire conversation. HK was interested and talked with enthusiasm for about an hour; sometimes I would ask her for explanations or switch the topic, if she was silent for a while. I asked HK first about weaving and flax and hemp-working techniques and then about Christmas rituals. At some point IS joined us; I repeated that I wanted to record the elder generation. He was very understanding and did not volunteer much information, though he listened with great interest. Generally, I discourage members of the younger generation from participating because elderly people sometimes feel embarrassed that they do not 'speak the proper language,' especially when the younger generation starts to correct their speech offering non-dialectal, 'city,' or literary Ukrainian forms instead. However, IS was speaking the village dialect to his adoptive mother, and she did not change her manner or speaking habits when he joined us. IS reminded HK if she forgot certain details, but other details were unknown to him, and he was interested in what HK was saying.

After about twenty more minutes, HK and IS started discussing village events that had a supernatural twist, i.e., how and why a certain woman got struck by lightning, and from there they switched to other folk stories of various genres. I did not interrupt them, and they were talking for quite some time. Then I started asking whether they heard such and such a story, suggesting plots I had heard in other Carpathian villages; they most often had not heard these stories, but remembered other stories similar in some respect, and then they added even more stories. Apparently, HK was more of authority in weaving and even in Christmas rituals than she was in stories, where she accepted IS's suggestions more often than not. HK and IS mentioned that some of these stories were the ones *dido* ('the old man,' i.e., the deceased husband of HK and adoptive father of IS) used to tell. They repeated several times what a good story-teller he was and what a pity it was I had not met him. The whole story-telling session lasted for approximately forty-five minutes; at that point IS stepped out, and HK continued talking and answering my questions for about fifteen more minutes. Then she invited me to have a meal with them, and I turned off the recorder. However, in the course of the meal HK or IS sometimes remembered another story; then I would turn on the recorder again, record the story, and then turn it off till the next story. In such a way I

recorded an additional 12 minutes of story-telling. Altogether I recorded twenty-one stories, including an account of the death of HK's own son and the two dreams she had in this connection.

Story content

A brief summary of the plots of their stories is in the chart below. An entire transcript of the stories may be found in the Appendix:

#	Content	Place in recording	Teller	Who suggested	Genre
#1	a woman in the village says she is not afraid of lightning and then she is struck by lightning	21-1:04 - 21-1:06 (6)	HK	HK	memorate
#2	three pregnant women receive prophecies about their children's future deaths; all three children die exactly the way it was predicted	21-1:06 - 21-1:10	HK	IS	religious legend
#3	a young woman wants to go to church but cannot do so because no one can sit with her baby; when an unknown old man (an angel) lets her go, she sees a full church and hears a beautiful sermon; when she comes home, the old man tells her there were only three people in the church, and the priest was driving bricks; when she asks the priest, it turned out he was really thinking about building his house and not about the sermon	21-1:10 - 21-1:14	HK	IS	religious legend
#4	a soldier is going home, asks to sleep in a certain house, in this house a woman gives birth and the soldier hears someone prophesy that the newborn girl will be this soldier's wife; the soldier puts a girl on a stick in the fence and leaves; years later	21-1:14 - 21-1:21	HK	IS	tale of fate akin to ATU 930

#	Content	Place in recording	Teller	Who suggested	Genre
	he marries that very girl and then recognizes her by the scar				
#5	a student is going home, an old man in an oxcart gives him a ride, when they are in the middle of a river the old man tells the student to get off the cart; then the student stays for a night at the old man's house, steals the fried goose from the oven and leaves old shoes in the oven instead	21-1:21 - 21-1:27	HK, IS	HK	anecdote
#6	St. Peter expresses a wish to be God, and has to herd geese for the whole day	21-1:27 - 21-1:29	HK	HK	religious legend / jest ATU 774D
#7	St. Peter and Jesus encounter a lazy young man and a hard-working girl, and Jesus says this man will marry this girl because this way they will both survive	21-1:29 - 21-1:30	HK	IS	religious legend ATU 822
#8	St. Peter and Jesus stay for the night at the house of a man and his wife who is drinking hard, and she beats St. Peter twice	21-1:30 - 21-1:34	HK	IS	religious legend / jest ATU 791
#9	a Roma outwits a priest: first the Roma says he killed a rabbit by shooting it with a hoe, and then they have a dream-telling contest where the Roma cheats the priest out of the rabbit	21-1:34 - 21-1:37	IS	IS	anecdote
#10	a monk in a monastery exorcises a devil out of a person	21-1:38 - 21-1:40	HK, IS		memorate
#11	a person from a village makes a thief who stole his harrow bring the harrow back to him	21-1:41 - 21-1:42	IS	?	memorate

#	Content	Place in recording	Teller	Who suggested	Genre
#12	a man is going by cart; when he passed a building site the builders magically stop his horses; he makes horses go again and makes one of the builders hurt himself	21-1:42 - 21-1:46	HK	HK	memorate
#13	a woman in the neighboring village magically stops a tractor that trespassed on her land	21-1:46 - 21-1:47	IS	IS	memorate
#14	certain tree in the forest is destined to kill a person	21-1:50 - 21-1:51	HK	IS	belief? memorate ?
#15	a man gets lost in the woods because he went to the woods on Sunday; he only can find the way when he makes the sign of the cross	21-1:52	HK		memorate
#16	three girls are going across the rail track before a train but are not killed; devil says he cannot harm them because they are protected by the sign of the cross or by prayer	21-1:53 - 21-1:54	HK		religious legend
#17	in a place where a person got killed by a tree there is a voice that says 'watch out, watch out'	21-1:56	HK		belief?
#18	how the speaker's son died and what two dreams she saw in this connection	21-1:58 - 21-2:05	HK		personal experience tale; memorate
#19	Roma outwit a rich landowner who wanted to know how they earned their living, and cheat him out of his two horses	22-00 - 22-02	HK	?	anecdote
#20	'don't pity an orphan, don't tell the truth to your wife, don't let a rich landowner borrow your money'	22-03 - 22-07	HK, IS	HK	realistic tale, akin to ATU 893 <i>The Unreliable Friends</i> and ATU

#	Content	Place in recording	Teller	Who suggested	Genre
					910-919 <i>Good Precepts</i>
#21	devil introduces hard liquor, makes a man beat his wife, and makes people behave like foxes, like wolves, and like pigs	22-07 - 22-12	HK	IS?	religious legend similar to AT 1427.1

Organization of the performance on the macro-level

The performance I attended was different from what a regular performance would be like, first and foremost because I was (in) the audience. My initial request to hear “about the old life” was an artificial occasion, and I was an unusual listener. I also wanted to listen mostly to HK, which could have influenced the distribution of roles in performing. On the other hand, this performance was closer to a regular performance than to a one-on-one recording session in the sense that there were two performers, who were not only bearers of the same culture, but members of the same household, apparently with experience of participating in similar events in their family circle. They seemed to incorporate me in their event, not worried by, but alert to, my presence. This alertness mostly showed in their being extra helpful, explaining meanings of words and realia to me, a stranger (1:12, 1:14, 1:16, etc.). There seemed to be more of such explanations than there would be, for example, at a session including a younger family member. Otherwise, it felt like a normal and successful performance, in the sense that both performers seemed to have a good time telling stories to a new audience, as good performers usually do.

The general pattern of the session was as follows: one person would remember and suggest a story, then s/he or the other person would tell it, while the one who was not telling would listen and comment. The comments were usually short, from a couple of words to a short sentence, but numerous, up to 6-7 comments during a 5-minute long story. The commentator would either explain what was going on (IS: “She did not have anyone to leave a baby with,” 1:11) or anticipate what was going to happen (HK: “And off he went,” 1:22). The teller would mostly agree with the comments and continue with the story. When the story was over, the participants would discuss it, repeating key moments from the story, explaining the characters’ motivation and commenting on the general meaning of the story (e.g., see the discussions at the end of #1 at 1:05, or #4 at 1:21, or #19 at 02 in the appendix). This discussion would last for some time until one of the tellers suggested another story.

Differences in the story-telling of HK and IS

The two performers each had a distinct part in the telling. HK told the most stories. Her stories were intricate and captivating, though her memory, probably due to her age, was at times faulty: while telling, she sometimes said she was not sure of a detail (1:07, 1:09, 1:16, 1:20, 1:43, 1:46, etc.), or she would forget something and add it as an afterthought (1:09), or IS would add it for her (1:18). She also was the only one to add a long digression to one of her stories (how she used to go on foot to the nearest town 1:15). When IS was telling a story, HK would comment from time to time, mostly to suggest a word (1:24), to anticipate a narrated event (1:22), or just to agree (1:22).

HK told three times as many stories (18 stories out of 21, 3 of them together with IS, 15 independently, while IS told 6 stories, 3 of them with HK, 3 by himself). However, IS was also able to tell stories, which he did a couple of times when he thought HK was wrong or when she did not remember the plot (1:22 - the story of the student, 03 - 'don't tell secrets to your wife'). In terms of number of words, HK said only a little more than twice as many words as IS (HK - 6683 words, IS - 2687 words). That is, IS was true to his word and let HK tell more stories, but at the same time he himself was talking a lot. On the one hand, his stories, though fewer, tended to be long and elaborate, containing a number of episodes each, as well as a lot of detail and dialogue (#5, 9, 20). On the other hand, he gave a lot of commentary and explanations on a number of topics, from explanations of words and realia (1:12, etc.) to commentaries on the plot and the characters' motivations (1:13, 1:14, etc.). He often rephrased something that had been already said, or added a detail. He also corrected HK if he felt she was mistaken (1:22). He also often remembered a new story and suggested that HK tell it (stories #2, 3, 4, 7, 8, 14, possibly 21).

The difference between the styles of the two performers seems to stem from their attitude to the stories and, generally, to the tradition. HK was inside the tradition; she did not perceive story as object (7); for her, the performance and the story were fused. She did not think I might need explanations on the story during performance and only rarely provided spontaneous translations (1:12). IS was more conscious of story as object, and of the possibility that I, a stranger, would not understand it, so he was providing report and interpretation during the telling. (8) In addition, IS apparently felt in charge not only for the text, but also for the performance. When he did not know something HK knew, he urged her to tell about it (1:47, about the tree killing a person). Several times when she forgot a detail he perceived as important, he jumped in and supplied it (1:12 - about the angel seeing only the three people who prayed devoutly as the ones really present in the church; 1:18 - about the soldier rejecting the idea that the girl he saw being born would become his wife, etc.) On several occasions he thought of a story and reminded HK of it, so that she could tell it. However, besides organizing the performance, he also could perform (in Hymes' terms), and was just as good a story-teller as HK was.

There also seemed to be a difference between the genres of stories each person preferred to tell. The stories include: memorates (in which I also include the stories told by 'friend of a friend', i.e., ## 1, 10, 11, 12, 13, 15), religious legends and tales of fate (##3, 4, 6, 7, 8, 16, 20, 21), and anecdotes (##5, 9, 19, 20). Among the six memorates, most were, expectedly, told by HK (told 4, suggested 2). IS told, or participated in telling, three memorates, and suggested only one. However, the two memorates he told on his own (##11 and 13) are short and not as impressive as, for example, a well-developed #12, suggested and told by HK. The overall impression is that memorates were not IS's favorite genre.

Memorates

<i># Teller</i>	<i>Who Suggested</i>
1 HK	HK
10	HK, IS
11	IS ?
12	HK HK
13	IS IS
15	HK

Out of eight religious legends and tales of fate, HK told eight and suggested two; IS told one (together with HK) and suggested five. Again, HK was the main teller. IS often suggested a tale, but rarely told it himself (maybe because I had said I wanted HK to talk). However, he seemed to know them all, and if HK forgot something, IS was eager to step in (#20).

Religious Legends, Tales of Fate

<i># Teller</i>	<i>Who Suggested</i>
3 HK	IS
4 HK	IS
6 HK	HK
7 HK	IS
8 HK	IS
16	HK
20	HK, IS HK
21	HK IS?

In anecdotes and non-religious legends, IS was more often a teller than in other story types: he told three stories out of four (two of them with HK), and suggested one, while HK told three (two of them with IS), and suggested two. Though HK may have suggested an anecdote and start telling it, IS just could not help himself because he was sure he knew the story better and could tell it better (as in #5). With stories of other types, according to my request, IS tried to let HK tell as many stories as she remembered, but with anecdotes, more often than with other types of stories, IS told the stories himself.

Anecdotes

#	Teller	Who Suggested
5	HK, IS	HK
9	IS	IS
19	HK	?
20	HK, IS	HK

Thus, the recorded storytelling session showed a difference between male and female roles in storytelling performance, if not in the knowledge of the stories of various genres. IS knew all three types of stories, i.e., memorates, religious legends, and anecdotes, but he preferred to tell anecdotes. My impression was that he was not particularly interested in memorates. However, he vividly discussed one memorate (#12), possibly because he knew and trusted the person (*dido*) who used to tell it. HK knew and told all three types of stories, but memorates and religious legends seemed to be more to her taste.

Thus, we can hypothesize that anecdotes are more of a men's domain, while religious legends and memorates are women's. This contention is supported by previous research as well; see, Dégh [1999: 582] noticing that in contemporary story-telling, "[d]evelopment of genre specialization may be observed between the sexes: the *märchen* and the ghost stories became almost exclusively feminine, whereas men became the tellers of jokes, lies, and humorous and adventurous occupational and personal narratives," or Kiliánová [1999:104] stating that among her informants in rural Slovakia in 1981-83, "the best narrators of anecdotes from the society's point of view (and also my own view) were men...while the best performer of magic tales and ghost stories was a woman." Moreover, Dégh [1989: 159] observed during her fieldwork in the Hungarian village of Kakasd in the 1940s-50s, that religious legends "were especially favored by [...] women." Thus, the fact suggested in literature that men are more prone to telling certain types of stories (i.e., anecdotes), and women, others (i.e., religious legends), is supported by the recording session in Novoselytsia. What is significant is that it while performance is gender-specific, knowledge of the stories is not. Both IS and HK were equally familiar with narratives of all three genres.

Organization of the performance on the micro-level

Both HK and IS followed particular patterns when telling a story. First, they suggested a story: they referred to it either by a plot summary (that happened more often with short, uncomplicated stories): "how one person was told that he would die from a tree, when a beam fell on him" (#2), "how St. Peter was herding geese" (#6), "how a woman beat St. Peter" (#8), "a woman stopped tractors" (#13), "where moonshine came from" (#21), etc., or by using the initial, expository portion: "how that woman wanted to go to church" (#3), "how a soldier was returning from the army" (#4), "how a student crossed a river" (#5), "how that guy was lying under a pear-tree when they were passing by" (#7), or, less frequently, by a punch line: "when God permits, a hoe fires" (#9), "don't pity an

orphan, don't tell the truth to your wife, don't lend money to a nobleman" (#20). The majority of such references were relative clauses beginning with the word "how." They may not be titles in strict sense. Since some of them include deictic elements ("that woman", "that guy"), they might be occasional descriptions rather than fixed titles for these specific stories, and might have only a mnemonic function. (9)

Stories usually started with a sentence where a subject and predicate were in the reversed order, i.e., predicate (underlined in the examples below) - **subject** (bolded): #1: НК | сиділи **трі́ жёны** | у канто́рі | 'Three women were sitting in the office' 1:04; #3: НК а | тото́ тото́ ишли́ | ишли́ **трі́ жёны** | бе́ремёньні | ай ишо́в за німи ді́до | та не́ | ді́до | а́нгель ишо́в | за німи | 'Once, three women were walking, three pregnant women, and behind them, an old man was walking. It was not an old man, but an angel, he walked after them' 1:06, etc. This word-order in the closely related Russian language "ha[s] long been associated with folklore, poeticity, and stylization [e.g. Adamec 1966, Kovtunova 1980]" [Yokoyama 1986: 284]. However, in the recording session, this word order occurred not only at the beginning of a story. It also marked the occasions when a new person was (re)introduced in the narration: | она́ бы́ ишла́ до це́рькви | і туй́ захо́дит ді́до | до хы́жі 'And this one wants so much to go to church. And here an old man enters the house.' (1:11); она́ бы́ла нишла́ айбо́ ді́тину | айно́ ни́е на ко́го лиши́ти | но і захо́дить ді́до | 'She wanted to go, but there was no one to leave the baby with. And so an old man comes in, ...' (1:11); | бо́г при́ємле | лише́ тро́їх | а дру́гих не́т | но | ду́має она́ тогда́ со́бі но шчо́ | 'God accepts only three, but not others. Well, then she thinks to herself...' (1:13); ді́до нишо́в зе́т | бу́де о́на і́ти до по́на | ба́де ка́зати се по́пову | 'The old man went away. She [decided] to go to the priest, will tell that to the priest...' (1:13), etc. Overall, this word order seems to be a device to shift the focus of the narration to a new person, whether it is at the beginning of the story or in its middle, rather than a specific device for starting a story.

In the text of each story one can detect a number of discourse markers with framing functions. (10) The expressions *a* 'and', *i* 'and', *туй*, *туйкы* 'here', *уже́* 'already', *но* 'well, and', *айно́* 'yes, well' mark a beginning of a new episode (framing devices are underlined in the examples below). (11) They may be combined, as in *быв* | *ишо́в* *із* | *сол...* | *із а́рмії* *солда́т* | *і туйкы* *уже́* *ся* *приме́рькло* *ніч* | 'a soldier was returning from the army, and it already became dark, the night started' (1:15; the English translation is not a word-by-word translation and does not always convey the clustering of markers), or: | *і ка́зав* | *но* | *се́ї жёны́* *ся* *вто́пит* *се́ї жёны́* | *но* *забы́ла* *м* *шчо́* | а *се́ї жёны́* | *де́рево* *убь́е* | *айно́* | *но і* *туйкы* *уже́* | *хло́пці* *повы́роста́ли* | *росту́т* | 'and he said, this woman's [child] will drown, this woman's - I forgot what, and this woman's [child] will be killed by a tree. Yes. And then boys already grew up, they are growing' (1:07). The expressions *тай* *нич* / *но і* *нич* / *но і* *всьо́* 'and that's it', 'nothing more happened', 'OK' usually close an episode and at the same time build suspense, making listeners anticipate what is coming: *ІС* *ні́н* *ду́має* *шчо́* | *шчо́зь* *вы́грати* *шче́* | *ГК* *ні́н* *вы́грат* *ІС* *но* | *най* *бу́де* | *но* *тай* *ні́ч* | *по́лігали*

спáти спля́т | а зя́ць у печі́ | печé ся | рáно пробуді́ли ся | IS: ‘...The priest thought he would win something. HK: That the priest would win. IS: Well, OK, OK. They went to sleep, they are sleeping, and the rabbit is in the oven, baking. In the morning they woke up...’ (1:36). The words *ма́й ма́к* ‘and that is it; and that is how it was’ often served as an episode closing marker; sometimes they ended the whole story (1:14, 1:30, 2:05), but they also could end an episode (1:26, 08) or a digression within a story (1:15).

These markers indicating the opening and closing of an episode may appear to be mere fillers, but in fact they function similarly to formulae in oral poetry by giving the teller time to think, and, at the same time, creating suspense for listeners. Unlike the formulae in oral poetry, these markers do not have rhythmical structure, as one would expect in a prose genre, but they add both structure and suspense, allowing the listeners to detect what part of episode they are in, and at the same time holding them in anticipation about what content they are going to hear. (12) Another device that functions similarly to opening and closing markers is repetition, as in: *| но ма́й ліза́ют спáти | ма́й нòліза́ли спáти ма́й |* ‘And they go to sleep. And they went to sleep’ (1-24). The repetition is never exact, but repeating the word with slight variations in several sentences allows the storyteller to gain time to think, and slows the story down for the listeners, building suspense. (13)

In the recording session there were no specific folkloric formulae closing a story (of the type e.g., of the rhyming “I stepped on a rock, and that was the end of the story. I stepped on a stick, tell me if [what I told] was not right” as in Pan’kevych [1938:463]. Pan’kevych recorded this ending in a humorous personal experience tale; though generally such endings are known from fairy tales, it appeared in another type of story in this case. Theoretically an ending like this could have appeared in one of the stories in the session; however, it did not. It is not clear whether such endings are generally not typical for genres other than fairy tales (14), or have disappeared from the story-telling practices, or whether they are still in usage under specific circumstances, e.g. if the end of the story is also the end of a story-telling session, or whether some tellers use them while others do not.

After a story would end, the two participants would start a discussion, repeating the punchline if there was one, discussing the meaning of the story, its connection to everyday life (“So that’s how it is now too” 1:14), returning to a specific episode of the story and repeating something from the text or adding what they had forgotten to say, and then again returning to the overall meaning of the story, tying the details with the main message. This commentary would take some time. Its point seems to be to keep the audience and the tellers in the story-telling mood; this mood lingers while the discussion is going on until someone thinks of another story to tell; if no one does, the session is over. My questions to the two story-tellers whether they knew of such and such story seemed to fall within the framework of a story-telling session; these questions helped the story-tellers remember a new story even though usually it was not the one I suggested. In my view, it was appropriate to suggest a story to HK and IS, since that was what they

did between themselves as well. I also asked questions about details of the previous story and that prompted them to expand on the explanations and, therefore, to stay in the story-telling mood. The only difference I could see between my and their discourse strategies is that I asked questions, while they did not; their suggestions, explanations and even questions would be in the form of a statement or a request. The general role of questions and statements in discourse in the dialect of Novoselytsia may be different from English (e.g., the normal way of saying “I don’t know” is *a я знаю?* ‘(What) do I know?’). However, in this case, I think I have an understanding of HK and IS’s usage of statements in form: even if they expressed their uncertainty about specific details, their statements might have indicated their knowledge of these stories, in terms of both meaning and context, while my questions indicated I was ignorant of the tradition and asking for assistance in a way.

In order to make clear how these elements operated in context, I will now provide an analysis of the transition from one story to the next on the micro-level. Below is a transition between stories #18 and #19, at 02, in English translation.

1. HK: [finishing the story] [...] The Roma got on the horse and says: now one pull [the coach], and the other, push it. And off he went, and never came back, this way he went to fetch the *manta* [deception]. They [the Roma] took both horses. And the coach remained, and the nobleman remained, and his coachman remained.
2. IS: The Roma got on the horse and says: fare you well...
3. HK: Yes, yes, fare you well...
4. IS: One person, pull it, the other, push it.
5. HK: And the other, push it. So that one would pull it, and the other, push from behind.
6. IS: That’s the *manta*.
7. HK: Yes, that’s the *manta*. And the Roma live from that *manta*. They deceive here and deceive there, and so they live from *manta*. Well, and also I remembered another story, and I think let it be here, so that you have it.

First, in (1), HK ends the story, then the (rhyming) punchline is repeated and corrected by IS (2, 4), and HK agrees (3, 5) and explains the meaning of the punchline (5). Then IS explains what the Roma’s words mean (6), and HK agrees and explains the connection between the story and the real life (how Roma live from *manta*); in the meantime, she remembers another story to tell (7). When IS interrupts HK, who is the story-teller at the moment, to add his own commentaries, he is not saying the whole thing at the time, but gives a short utterance (half of a punchline, or a short comment) every time, as if he is pondering what and how to say. HK approves of his words every time, and only then does IS go on with another detail. On the other hand, HK not only approves

of IS's words, she then, true to her role as a teller of this story, expands and explains IS's words, as in (6) and (7), as if improvising on the theme given by IS. This exchange during which both participants, one as the story-teller, the other as the audience, are shaping the story together, seems characteristic not only for this story-telling performance, but for many others that I recorded in Novoselytsia.

True or False? Tellers' attitudes toward stories and techniques for connecting them to the real world

In the excerpt quoted above, one can see another feature that is common to many stories in this session. The explanation about the Roma living from *manta* connects the world of the story with the world of here-and-now, and thus validates the story's truthfulness. (15) The majority of stories have some type of anchoring device, though the exact means used to anchor them may vary depending on the genre of story.

We can summarize the anchors as follows. Typically, all the memorates contain personal and/or place names (*Ivanycka; there was one Yurchak; the father of that Evka Diakova; somewhere in Volosianka*, etc.) Religious legends and tales of fate often contain either: 1) ethnographic details (often in the form of digressions introduced by the explanation that "it used to be that way long ago", as in #2 – the digression about beams and chimneys and in #3 – the digression about walking long distances); or, 2) the remark that "such things happen now too" (#3 - nowadays people also get distracted in church, #6 - nowadays geese also damage gardens, #16 - nowadays one also needs to pray before going somewhere, #21 - people also get drunk now). Anecdotes contain 1) one referral to some authoritative person who told the story (and that is why it is truthful) e.g., #5; or, 2) 'such things happen now too' - #19 (as in religious legends).

Thus, the stories of near past are grounded in the world of here-and-now by mentioning real and familiar (at least to the performer) people and places. (16) The stories of olden times are connected with the present by referring to certain details from the story that still may be found in the present and are familiar to listeners (such as geese damaging gardens) or that have changed recently, but are still familiar to performers (such as walking long distances on foot before the time of cars and buses). While the first type of linking is a typical verisimilitudinal device, the mentioning of archaisms may serve to preserve "the long-ago setting of the tales." (17) The figure of a respected story-teller who used to know and tell the story also can be evoked to ground the story in the tradition and thus to confirm its truth.

The devices to connect two worlds, the one of the story and the one of the performance, thus are various and genre-specific. It did not seem, however, as if the tellers were using them to convince the listener of the reality of their artistic creation in which they did not believe themselves. On the contrary, based on their commentary, it was clear that the belief of the two tellers in the truthfulness of their stories was sincere, possibly absolute, regardless of the genre. In the course of the session, neither of the tellers said anything that could be understood as

doubt about the truthfulness of any story. The recording contains one instance of a statement about stories being true, when IS mentioned, after finishing an anecdote about a student outwitting a peasant: "That is not that someone made it up, it was like that. That is what our old man, blessed be his soul, used to tell" (1:27). During the discussions after the end of each story, the two tellers at times disagreed about details (e.g., when exactly the soldier married the girl that had been destined to become his wife or whether a new monk would make a good exorcist), but only once one of them doubted the truthfulness of the story, when, between the stories #10 and #11, the question arose whether the old man who said that thieves would bring him back stolen sacks really meant it, i.e., whether he had some powers to make it happen. Even in this case, the question was whether this man was bluffing in this particular case, not whether such things were possible; that was beyond doubt. HK was more often using a story as a source of teaching about right and wrong, as an instruction for living right, while IS was less moralizing and seemed to tell stories more for entertainment, but for both of them, the stories were true.

Conclusion

Until recently, recordings of entire performances of Slavic tales have been scarce. (18) For Rusyn, they have been nearly non-existent. Such recordings are an invaluable source for an analysis of the structure of folk narrative, which some researchers, beginning with Hymes, call *ethnopoetic features*, and others, namely Bauman, call *keying of performance*. This approach, in its turn, is important since "careful attention to linguistic details can reveal much about the poetics and aesthetics of the source-language versions" [Webster 2008a: 441]. Such analysis is a variant of the discourse-centered approach to language and culture developed by Sherzer [1987, 1990], Urban [1991], Webster [2008a]. Though particular discourse features of a folkloric performance can be recovered from a text dictated to a person who recorded it by hand ([Hymes 2003] and [Webster 2008a], etc.), a transcript of an audio performance can reveal much more. For example, although the majority of his stories are simply texts as dictated, Pan'kevych [1938] has also published a few transcripts of audio texts. These transcripts show an impressive number of details of narrative structure missing from dictated texts alone. One can appreciate the drastic difference in discourse devices between two stories, #36, audio recorded from an informant born in a village from the Irshava district, and #35, dictated by an informant from the same district: in the story transcribed from the audio recording, the word *ho* 'well,' a sign of continuation of a narrative, occurs ten times in a text less than a page long, while in the dictated story, *ho* does not occur even once in a narrative of more than two pages. This example shows that when recording by hand, important discourse elements can be considered unnecessary fillers even by thorough dialectologists such as Pan'kevych and will be omitted at the stage of narration. Conversely, faithful transcripts of audio-recorded texts allow us to preserve more elements that are vital to understanding narrative and performance. Even more information can be provided by transcripts

of entire performances, including not only the stories, but also all the communication that takes place before, after, and between them, which, as far as I know, has not yet been done with Rusyn or Ukrainian material. Such sound recordings can be pivotal for understanding the overall organization of folkloric performance in the area. Published collections of folkloric texts from Western Ukraine and specifically Carpathian region, despite their abundance, may not provide necessary details for such research.

This article is the first attempt to analyze an instance of story-telling performance based on Rusyn material. Even though, as I mentioned, this performance cannot be considered totally typical since I was present in the quality of a listener, it allowed us to highlight several important factors about performance structure in Rusyn culture that merit further investigation. First, there is a definite structure to a story-telling session. Stories are suggested, and then told (not obligatorily by the one who suggested them). While they are told, other participants can suggest corrections, explanations, and anticipate the next move. When the story is over (there were no specific folkloric endings to stories in the recorded session), the story-teller and other participants usually discuss this story, adding details, teasing out the overall meaning of the story and its connection to their lives. During this discussion, another participant may remember another story and tell it or suggest it to another participant as a possible narrative for the session. If no one remembers another story, someone may suggest something else to do, and the story-telling will be over.

This discussion between the stories, as well as the interruptions by other participants during the story, seem to be the very instruments of the “collective creation,” as well as of “preventive censure” that Jakobson and Bogatyrev mention as characteristic features of folklore [1980[1929]: 20 and *passim*]. These two forms of interaction during a story-telling session convey folk knowledge and the expectations of the entire audience to the current story-teller, and also allow for the collective negotiation of the meaning of the story. It is noteworthy that during the recorded story-telling session the current story-tellers agreed with, and incorporated in their stories, most of the suggestions by the other participant. This practice is thus a living example of how “collective creation” works.

The role of an individual performer in creating and maintaining the Rusyn folk tradition certainly needs more research, since our sample is limited. There were only two performers in the recorded session; their roles were different in one respect, and similar in other. However, we can make some preliminary conclusions: the gender and age of performers influenced their performance. The male story-teller seemed to be more prone to tell anecdotes (anecdotes), while the female story-teller preferred religious legends. However, both were similar in their living knowledge of tradition and the ability to perform a variety of genres. Both knew each other's repertoire in all genres, commented on each other's tales, and helped out when the other performer forgot certain details. The younger performer, IS, at 54 years of age, was as good a story-teller as his 89-year-old adoptive mother HK. Moreover, he felt responsible for the whole performance and tried to organize it as best he could, helping HK with details, but at the same

time complying with my request to let HK talk more. The overall impression was that the younger generation can maintain the story-telling tradition, not only in the sense of knowledge of tradition, but also in the sense of the ability to do an authoritative performance [Hymes 1975:69]. Thus, the traditional rural folklore in Novoselytsia continues to thrive, (19) at least in the generation which is now 50-60 years of age, even if the tradition for them is more “external” than for the elder generation, i.e., they are more likely to view the stories as objects, as we have seen. Moreover, the serious attitude towards tradition and the belief in the truth of the stories coming from a traditional source as demonstrated by IS (“That is not that someone made it up, it was like that. That is what our old man, blessed be his soul, used to tell”) indicate that the tradition continues to have authority in this generation despite of many other influences. IS’s respect to tradition is not diminished by the fact that he is also a high school graduate and an active member in the church. His sharing of a traditional worldview seems to be rooted in his rural lifestyle and daily communication with like-minded people. The demographic data on the Transcarpathian region show solid and growing rural population. (20) That suggests that the rural environment continues to provide an opportunity for traditional Rusyn folklore to live and develop.

On the micro-level, a performed story includes a number of linguistic markers indicating the beginning or an end of an episode and the introduction of a new person. These markers seem to orientate listeners within an episode. They also seem to build suspense, as well as give the speaker time to think of what to say next; that is, they perform a similar function to what formulae do in epic genres of folklore. However, in prose stories they do not carry the function of maintaining the required rhythm. Building suspense and giving the speaker time seems also to be the function of repetition of words and phrases, similar to its function in poetic folklore genres. Stories and participants’ comments also contain a number of verisimilitudinous devices connecting the world of story and the world of story-tellers and their audience, either through digressions about details that are similar in both worlds or by referring to the authority of tradition. Thus, the micro-structure of a story-telling performance, same as its macro-structure, abounds in devices that may seem to interfere with the smoothness of narration (and that is why they are usually omitted when stories are dictated or edited for publication), but are absolutely essential for building the two-way connection between story-tellers and their audience. (21) This connection, in turn, is the very mechanism that propels the “communal creativity”, which is, according to Jakobson and Bogatyrev, the mode of existence of folklore.

Appendix: Transcript of the recording session

Recording, minute	Text (22)	Translation
[21-1:04] (23)	ГК ... у нас відиш як у у канто́рі коли ждну́ грім у у сиді́ли три́ жо́ны у канто́рі	HK: ...In our village, you see how...In the office when a woman was k[illed] (24) by lightning...Three women were sitting in the office.
[21-1:05]	ІС ко́лгоспи́ ГК га ІС ко́лгоспи́ ГК ко́лгоспи́ коли́ при ко́лгоспи́ тай́ сі́ли тай́ та́м неда́леко і шчо́тчик а жо́ны ся ві́тсую́ют а она́ ка́же а вы́ ся ка́же боі́те жо́на ка́же а та боі́ме ся а она́ сі́ла тай́ грі́м ци́ не убі́в йе́ї та́мки аа іва́нєцьку ІС ка́зала́ шчо́ не боі́е́ть_ся ГК о́на ка́зала́ шчо́ не боі́е́ть_ся не за́ то́ йе́ї убі́в шчо́ ка́зала́ шчо́ не боі́е́ть_ся ай́ за́ то́ шчо́ та́ка і судба́ бы́ла обы́ від о́гня уме́рла ... (25)	IS: Collective farms. HK: What? IS: Collective farms [office]. HK: Collective farms. At the time of collective farms. So they sat down, and there was an electric meter not far from there, and [these] women moved further from it, but she said: oh, you are afraid? one woman said. -- Sure, we are afraid! And she sat there, and you know, the lightning killed her there. Her, Ivanycka. IS: She said she was not afraid. HK: She said she was not afraid. Not because of that, she got killed not because she said she was not afraid, but because it was her destiny, to die of fire. [Interviewer: Have you heard about someone predicting how another person would die, and later it would turn out to be true?]
[21-1:06]	ГК а́ я зна́ю ... ГК шчо́зь_бы́ло та́коє бы́ло та́коє	HK: I don't know. [Interviewer: Or maybe someone could predict the time when he himself would die?]

Recording, minute	Text (22)	Translation
	<p>ІС но то́ як одні́му чо́лві́ку ка́зали хто́ тто́ ка́зав шчо́ ві́д де́рева умре́ коли́ грятка на ньо́го упала́ </p> <p>ГК а то́то то́то ішли́ ішли́ три́ жо́ны бе́ремє́нні ай ішо́в за ні́ми дідо́ та не́ дідо́ а́нгель_ ішо́в за ні́ми і ка́же сьє́сь ся уто́пит одє́н ві́т чо́го умре́</p> <p>ІС ...</p> <p>ГК ... ві́т чо́го є́ден ка́же </p>	<p>HK: There was something, there was something like that.</p> <p>IS: Well, it is how one person was told, who was that told him, that he would die from a tree? when a beam fell on him.</p> <p>HK: Ah, that? Once, three women were walking, three pregnant women, and behind them, an old man was walking. It was not an old man, but an angel, he walked after them and he said: this one will drown, one will - of what will he die?</p> <p>IS: [unclear]</p> <p>HK: [unclear] What will one die of, he said?</p>
[21-1:07]	<p>є́ден ся уто́пит </p> <p>ІС мо́же ма́шина убьє́ ци шчо́ </p> <p>ГК но за́была м а і ка́зав но сє́ї жо́ны ся вто́пит сє́ї жо́ны но за́была м шчо́ а сє́ї жо́ны де́рево убь'є́ а́йно но і ту́йкы у́же хлѡ́пці по́выроста́ли ро́стут і то́т о́ я не зна́ю ци то́т ся ско́рше уто́пив ся як і то́го де́ржали ли́ше на пе́чі обы́ го де́рево не уби́ло </p> <p>ІС аа́ ті хлѡ́пці шчо́ ма́є ся уро́дити</p> <p>ГК то́ты три́ хлѡ́пці і оні́ у́же ви́росли то́ты хлѡ́пці та́кі шчо́ у́же вели́чкі бы́ли хлѡ́пці і ні́где не пу́шчали́ ні́где би́сь не йшо́в бо те́бе ма́є де́рево уби́ти і ні́где</p>	<p>one will drown?</p> <p>IS: Maybe he would be hit by a car or something.</p> <p>HK: Well, I forgot. So, and he said, this woman's [child] will drown, this woman's - I forgot what, and this woman's [child] will be killed by a tree. Yes. And then boys already grew up, they are growing, and that one, I don't know if one drowned first, or how, but that one was only kept on the oven so that he does not get killed by a tree...</p> <p>IS: that was these boys who had to be born...</p> <p>HK: These three boys. And they already grew up, these boys, so that they were guys. And that one, [his parents] did not let him go anywhere, don't go</p>

Recording, minute	Text (22)	Translation
	бись не йшóв а давнó бýли такі но старі хýжі така была грятка і грятка тотá ся	anywhere because you will be killed by a tree, don't go anywhere. And long ago, there were such old houses, and there was such a beam, and that beam
[21-1:08]	відломíла у хýжі і убíла тогó на печí дéрево го убíло ІС такі дві вібліці нé ГК а у кóго бýли дві а у кóго єднá лише бýла ІС та на єдні грýцьці на одні вібліці держáло ся дві бýли ГК тай від від сыціны дó сыціны бýла грятка ІС но а на тóму дрывá складовали ГК аа но тотó колі бýли бýла щчé й тотá колі дымнянкý бýли айно дымнянка такі хýжі бýли такі дымнянкý шчо тýй клáли серет хýжі óгня а у пóвáлі такóе вікнó бýло і тудý дым ішóв ... ГК кóмина не бýло і тотó так лýде жíли но айбо тотó давнó давнó тотó бýло но і тóт і тóго мýсіла раз	got broken in the house and killed that one on the oven. He was killed by a tree. IS: There were such two beams. HK: Some people had two, some people had just one. IS: So on one beam, on one beam it was all supported, were there two? HK: And the beam was from one wall to the other. IS: People used to keep firewood on that. HK: Yes. It was when there were...when there were houses without chimney. Yes. Houses without chimney, there were such houses that here, in the middle of the house they would make fire, and there was such a window in the ceiling, and the smoke went there. [Interviewer: There was no chimney?] HK: There was no chimney, and people lived this way. But that was long, long ago. And so...it had to...
[21-1:09]	він від дéрева мав умéрти ii так умéр ІС і нíгда не йшóв лишé у хáті сидів і грятка	he had to die of a tree, and that is how he died.

Recording, minute	Text (22)	Translation
	<p>ГК і грятка тотó ся відломíла і на ньóго упáла і убíла і всьó нó а трéтый я забýла шо </p> <p>ІС машинá йогó мáла убíти а нý щчó </p> <p>ГК е та машин тогдý не бýло я не знáю е мáв ся задавíти но єдín ся утопíв тóт ся мáє задавíти а тóго мáє дéрево убíти тай всьó айно і та тóго дíдо вíказав і дíда не стáло а дíдо за тýми жонáми íшóв і так казáв за тýми трьомá щчо íшли бéременьні перед нím </p> <p>[...]</p>	<p>IS: And he did not go anywhere ever, he only sat in the house, and the beam...</p> <p>HK: and the beam broke, and fell on him, and killed him, and that's all. And the third one, I forgot what happened.</p> <p>IS: He had to be killed by a car. Do you remember?</p> <p>HK: But there were no cars then. I don't know. Ah, he had to choke. Yes, one drowned, the other had to choke, and the third one had to be killed by a tree. That's it. Yes. And that old man, he said that and disappeared. The old man went after these women and said so, after these three women that were pregnant.</p> <p>[Interviewer: So that was not an old man?]</p>
[21-1:10]	<p>ГК то áнгел бýв то не дíдо бýв то лиш дíдо кíп дíдів бýв айно то не дíдо бýв а хтó быв тотó хтó бы тотó знáв такóє айно і тотó тák ся пóлучíло всьó як дíдо казáв тák ся тотó всьó пóлучíло </p> <p>ІС а щчé роскажіте як тотá до цéрквы хóтіла йті колі дíдо ї пуcтíв не мáла на кóго лишíти </p> <p>ГК но бýла нéвístка тáг_ бы íшла до цéркве та кáже уже мáчóсі мáттери ужé чóлóвiчóві мáмо кáже пусьцít менé кáже до</p>	<p>HK: That was an angel, not an old man. He only looked like an old man, that was not an old man. But who else could know that? And it all happened like that, as the old man said, it all happened like that.</p> <p>IS: Also tell how that woman... wanted to go to church when an old man let her go. She did not have anyone to leave her children with.</p> <p>HK. Yes. There was a young woman, she wanted so much to go to church, and she says to her stepmother, to her husband's mother: please let me</p>

Recording, minute	Text (22)	Translation
	<p>цѣрькви я бим каже так ишла до цѣрькви а нѣт я йду ужѣ ма́ти каже я йду ты не йдѣш но і зобра́ла ся і пішла́ ма́ти пішла́ </p>	<p>go to church, I want so much to go to church. Oh no, I am going to church, the mother[-in-law] says, I am going, and you are not. So she got ready and went, the mother-[-in-law].</p>
[21-1:11]	<p>і ту́й зае́нно шчо она́ бы ішла́ до цѣрькви і ту́й захо́дит дідо до хы́жі</p> <p>ІС не ма́є на ко́го діти́ну лиши́ти </p> <p>ГК а діти́на мале́йка а діти́на у колы́сці тай ни́є на ко́го діти́ну лиши́ти она́ была́ пішла́ айбо діти́ну айно ни́є на ко́го лиши́ти но і захо́дить_ дідо тай тай ка́же шчо ішла́ бим до цѣрькве та ішла́ та я ка́е тебе́ пу́шчу ка́же ты йди́ я ка́е з діти́нов ка́же буду́ но тай дідо ся лиши́в із_ діти́нов а она́ пішла́ до цѣрькви і прихо́дид_ до́мі ужѣ была́ на слѹ́жбі́ была́ в цѣрькви прихо́дид_ до́мі тай дідо коло діти́ны дідо всьо́ тай звы́дат но як у цѣрькви йбѣ́ ду́же ка́же фа́йно было́ так і люде́й было́ і а ка́зання тако́є фа́йное́ было́ ка́же шчо я ка́же ду́же ка́же ми ся полюби́ло </p>	<p>And this one wants so much to go to church. And here an old man enters the house.</p> <p>IS: She did not have anyone to leave a baby with.</p> <p>HK: And the baby was little, baby in the cradle. And there was no one to leave the baby with. She wanted to go, but there was no one to leave the baby with. And so an old man comes in, and she says that she wants to go to church, and he says, I'll let you go, you may go, I will stay with the baby, he says. And she went to church. Then she returns home, she was in the church, she was present at the service. So she comes home, and the old man is sitting with the baby. And he asks: how was it in the church? She says: oh, it was so good, there were a lot of people, and the priest said such a fine sermon. I liked it very much, she says.</p>
[21-1:12]	<p>ІС прѣ́повѣдь ро́зумі́єте</p> <p>ГК но аа пі́п а а а дідо ка́же е лю... люде́й лишѣ́ тро́є было́ у цѣрькви а пі́п не ка́зання ка́зав ай це... це́глу вози́в ци зна́єте </p>	<p>IS: The sermon, you know?</p> <p>HK: Yes. And the priest...and the old man says, there were only three people in the church, and the priest did not say the sermon, he was driving bricks.</p>

Recording, minute	Text (22)	Translation
	<p>цѣгла но ка́же лиш трѣс люде́й было́ у цѣркви та де́ она́ ка́же та де́ по́вна цѣрковь было́ люде́й мно́го тай пѣп фа́йное ка́зання ка́зав а дѣдо о́пья́т лишѣ трѣс было́ в цѣркви а пѣп цѣглу вози́в </p> <p>ІС цілу́ службу </p> <p>ГК цілу́ службу но ніч іде́ то́то іде́ а то́ усі ма́ли інчі думкы́ не думали́ тым́ </p>	<p>Do you know what bricks are? Well. He says there were only three people in the church. How come, she says, the church was full, there were a lot of people. And the priest said a nice sermon. And the old man says again: there were only three people in the church, and the priest was driving bricks.</p> <p>IS: The whole time of the service.</p> <p>HK: The whole time of the service. OK. And that is, everyone had other thoughts, did not think about...</p>
[21-1:13]	<p>а трѣс лишѣ шчо́ думали́ шчо́ о́ні на службі́ </p> <p>ІС шчо́ моли́ли ся</p> <p>ГК шчо́ моли́ли ся шчи́ро так бо́г приѣмле́ лишѣ трѣ́х а дру́гих не́т но думат она́ тогда́ со́бі но шчо́ тай дѣдо піш.... дѣда́ уже́ не ста́ло дѣдо пішо́в ге́т буде́ она́ іти́ до по́па бде́ ка́зати се попо́ви прихѣдит ка́же я́ была́ ка́же на службі́ тог/ды́ і тогда́ та ка́же вы́ ка́зали ка́же ка́зання і люде́й было́ но і она́ уже́ росказа́ла уже́ шчо́ дѣдо у не́й бы́в як_ йе́ї пусти́в на службу́ і ка́же та ка́зав шчо́ вы́ не ка́зання каза́ли ай цѣглу́ съте вози́ли а пѣп ся́ будова́в тогда́ та у по́па не было́ то́то у го́лові́ шчо́ він ка́же з еванге́лія ай думав як він за́втра буде́ </p>	<p>and there were only three people who thought they were at the service.</p> <p>IS: Those who were praying.</p> <p>HK: Those who were praying from their heart, God accepts only three, but not others. Well, then she thinks to herself... The old man disappeared, he went away. She decided to go to the priest, will tell that to the priest. She comes to the priest and says: I was, she says, at the service then and then, and, she says, you said a sermon, and there were a lot of people. So she told him that there was an old man at her house, how he let her go to the service, and, she said, that old man said you were not saying a sermon, but driving bricks. And the priest was building his house then, and he did not think of what he</p>

Recording, minute	Text (22)	Translation
		was saying from the Gospel, but he was thinking, how he was going to
[21-1:14]	<p>цёглу возіти на хыжу та яг_буде будова́ти ци рѡзуме́те но тай та́к </p> <p>ІС цілу́ службу́ цёглу возі́в </p> <p>ГК цілу́ службу́ пі́п і при ка́заню та не ка́зання ка́зав ай ду́мав ба́ як ба́ як я́ бду́ цёглу за́втра та ко́го я заклі́чу хто́ мні́ приве́зе на хыжу́ цёглу </p> <p>ІС говорі́в одно́ а ду́мав дру́гоє</p> <p>ГК но та та́к то́то є́ і те́пе́рькы то́то ко́лі ся і́де до це́ркви та тре́ба ся а тре́ба ду́мати шчо́ я́ йду́ до це́ркви та слуха́ти бо́жі слова́ айбо́ ке́тъ то́ не та́к то́ не та́к ся полу́чит то́ дру́гі думкы́ май́ пере́бь'ют не та́к </p> <p>ІС а шче́́ роскажі́т як солда́т із а́рмії йшо́в а ну́ ж </p>	<p>drive bricks the next day to build his house, and how he will build it. Do you understand? Well, it was like that.</p> <p>IS: During the whole service he was driving bricks.</p> <p>HK: During the whole service. The priest, at the time of the sermon...and he did not say the sermon, but he was thinking, but how I am going to...the bricks tomorrow, who I could call that would drive the bricks for me so that I could build the house.</p> <p>IS: He was saying one thing, and thinking another thing.</p> <p>HK: Yes. So that's how it is now too, when one goes to church one needs to think that I am going to church, and listen to God's word. But what to do if it is not so, it happens otherwise, other thoughts interfere, right?</p> <p>IS: And also tell the story how a soldier was returning from the army, please,</p>
[21-1:15]	<p>... забы́ли </p> <p>ГК но та та́к шчо́ ішо́в був ішо́в із сол... із а́рмії солда́т і ту́йкы́ уже́ ся приме́рькло́ ніч </p> <p>ІС маши́н не бы́ло так як те́пе́рь</p>	<p>have you forgotten it?</p> <p>HK: So it was this way: a soldier was returning from the army, and it already became dark, the night started.</p> <p>IS: There were no cars, as there are now.</p>

Recording, minute	Text (22)	Translation
	ГК то пішкóм то не тák ги тêпêрь як я́ я самá та з вóлівця мóже двáццêть рáз им і у волóвêць пішкóм ци знáєте дé волóвêць і у волóвêць пішкóм і туды м нéсла і з вóлівця пішкóм і вítты м нéсла до двáццêть рáз а аж ім не бýла тай рáз а тêпêрь дé тêпêрь óде кíло о о пáру крóків йóй кобы́ машíна бýла я не гóнна пítи но тай тák солдáт íшóв із áрмії тай туй ся примêрькує ужé тай йóй дé бим і(?) спáв но і зайшóв до хýжі і 	HK: So he had to go on foot, not as now. Even I, from and to Volovec, I went there maybe twenty times on foot. Do you know where Volovec is? So I went there and back on foot, twenty times, carrying loads. And now, forget it. If I have a kilogram to carry, a couple of steps, oh I wish there was a car, I cannot walk! OK, so the soldier was returning from the army, and it was becoming dark. He thinks: where will I sleep? He entered one house,
[21-1:16]	попросів ся прия́ли йогó вiд рáзу прия́ли там де спáти будéш но а давнó не бýло тýх постêлів та дивáнів тай хýжiв хýжа єднá тáм єднá якáсь пóсьцiль пiч там прiпiчок там лáва тáká ширóкi бýли лáвы і куды́ хтó пóлiгáли і спiт но ба дé бдé спáти солдáт кладýд_ го на сýцiв шчóсь там постели́ли ци бýло шчóсь ци як IC стóлы дóвгi бýли дóвгi не тáki як тêпêрь ГК аа дóвгый сýцiв бýв шчé май не тákый гi у нáс он тотá плáшка шчé май дóвгi бýли поклáли на сýцiв і будéш спáти тýйкы туй жóнý имiли пêрêймы рóдити но	and asked if he could sleep there. They agreed at once. Where will you sleep? And long ago there were no beds or coaches or many rooms. There was one room, and there was one bed, one oven, a bench next to an oven, and a bench, such wide benches. And people slept where they could, they lied down and slept. And where should the soldier sleep? They put him on the table. They put some cloth there, I don't know whether there was something. IS: Tables were long ag that time, long, not as now. HK: Yes, the table was long. Maybe even longer than our table, here with this board, that table was still longer. So they put him on the table, "you will

Recording, minute	Text (22)	Translation
		sleep here”. And a woman went into labor, she will have a baby.
[21-1:17]	<p>і туй жона у хыжі всьо в хыжі і і солдат на столі </p> <p>ІС він_ нібы то спіт</p> <p>ГК він_ нібы то спіт а ангелы єдин на дворі а єдин у хыжі та тот ізо двору зьвідат ци є уже дітіна а сесь іс хыжі каже шчэ нис най є тог/ды оп'ят мало п'овіть оп'ят зьвідат ци є нис но оп'ят чэкат чэкат тогды оп'ят зьвідат ци є є а шчо дівочка сесэ каже бдэ он тóму каже жона шчо оде спіт на столі а він чує солдат чує всьо но ай то він нібы то спіт а він всьо чує но й тотó всьо уже упорятковали дітіну уві... і тотó уже шчо трé было то </p>	<p>And there, the woman is in the house, everything is in the house, and the soldier is on the table.</p> <p>IS: He is pretending that he is asleep.</p> <p>HK: He is pretending that he is asleep. And the angels, one in the yard and the other in the house, and the one from the outside asks: is there a baby already? and the one from the house answers, not yet. Then again, a bit later he asks again, if there is a baby. Not yet. And again. He waits, waits, and then he asks again if there is a baby. Yes, there is. And who is it? A girl. This girl, he says, will be married to that guy who is asleep there on the table. And he hears, the soldier hears everything. Well, and... He pretends he is asleep, but he hears everything. And all that already...they did what they had to do with the baby, swaddled it...everything that was necessary,</p>
[21-1:18]	<p>помыли пуп підрізали всьо попорятковали і полігали спати і дітіну уже повили повили поклали так на стóвп дітіну коло так на печі сплят полігали а солдат помалейкы устáв тихенько і дітіну на рúкы і на двір дэ моя жона о</p>	<p>they washed the baby, cut the umbilical cord, did everything, and went to sleep. And the baby was swaddled and put on the oven, next to the people who were sleeping on the oven. So they went to sleep and the soldier got up quietly, and took the baby and went outside.</p>

Recording, minute	Text (22)	Translation
	<p>тотó бѣла обы о тотó бѣло і як ішóв і так дітіну на копáч натягнóв на двóрі у плóті копáчі такі бѣли ге пліт шчо гóрòдѣт та двá копáчі і так на єдін копáч натягнóв тóтú дітіну і сáм пішóв устаю́т ни дітіны ниє ни солдáта </p> <p>ІС дé то мóя жонá бѣде</p> <p>ГК ге</p> <p>ІС думáт дé то мóя жонá бѣде</p>	<p>“How come that will be my wife!” and as he was walking, he put the baby on the stick, in the yard, there were such sticks in the fence, so when they make a fence there are two such [vertical] poles, so he put/impaled the baby on one of the poles, and went away. The people woke up, there is neither the baby there, nor the soldier.</p> <p>IS: “How come that will be my wife!”</p> <p>HK: What?</p> <p>IS: He thinks, how come she will be his wife.</p>
[21-1:19]	<p>ГК но пò двóрú пò двóрú рáс вѣдѣт шчо дітіна ізьдѣта і взѣли дітіну дѣвлят нѣч лиш так ні́жочка бѣла мáло роспорóта ага тай нѣч </p> <p>ІС живá дітіна </p> <p>ГК і дітіна ростé дівочка ростé дівочка тѣй ужé вѣросла шчо і віддáвати ужé і тѣй прийшóв і тот узѣв тóтú дівочку тот солдáт ужé жѣли якóсь ся онá убирáла бѣла онó тотó якóсь сѣ стыдѣли єднó дрѣгого і онá сѣ убирáла якóсь і він додѣвив ш...шкрáм на нѣсьці на нòзі а шчо у тебé кáже тотó є кáже тáмки ге </p> <p>ІС він не знáв шчо тотó тáм ГК ба дé він знáв </p>	<p>HK: Yes. And they went in the yard, and they see that the baby is on the stick, and they took the baby and they see, there is nothing, only one leg was a little cut. OK.</p> <p>IS: The baby was alive.</p> <p>HK: And the girl is growing up, growing up. Then already she grew up and it is time to arrange a marriage. And there, he came and married that girl, that soldier. And they already lived together. And once she somehow got dressed, because they were a bit ashamed of each other. And she got dressed, and he somehow saw the scar on the leg, on the leg. And what do you have here, he asked, there.</p> <p>IS: He did not know it was there.</p>

Recording, minute	Text (22)	Translation
		HK: Of course he did not know.
[21-1:20]	<p>він не знав но і она́ нача́ла роска́зовати ся́к ме́ні ка́же роска́зовали шчо́ ішо́в солда́т із а́рмії та спа́в у на́с а я́ ся уро́дила та узя́в ня́ та зды́в ня́ на копа́ч а то́т самы́й уже́ </p> <p>ІС она́ йому́ росказа́ла</p> <p>ГК не зна́ву шчо́ поду́мав шчо́ то́то він і взя́в то́ту і жи́ли так но айбо́ я́ уже́ не зна́ю ци ка́зав ї́ шчо́ він то́то зробі́в сесе́ я́ уже́ не зна́ю</p> <p>ІС мо́же і ка́зав</p> <p>ГК мо́же пак де́сь ся розго́вори́ли та мо́же і ка́зав а від ра́зу мо́же і не ка́зав но </p> <p>ІС як а́нгел упо́ві́в шчо́ то його́ ма́ла бы́ти тай́ му́сіла бы́ти </p> <p>ГК но́ тай́ му́сіла бы́ти ІС мо́же чере́з два́цьці́т ро́ків</p> <p>ГК тай́ му́сів чека́ти два́цьці́т рі́к {лі́т} но́ а мо́же і не чека́в два́цьці́т ро́ків мо́же май ско́рше а хто́ його́ зна́є мо́же як то́то </p> <p>ІС ...на́цьці́т</p> <p>ГК зна́єш як студе́нт_ ішо́в чере́з во́ду </p>	<p>He did not know. So she started telling him: I was told, she tells him, that a soldier was returning from the army and he stayed for a night in our house, and I was born, and he took me and impaled me on a stick, and that one, that very one...</p> <p>IS: She told him.</p> <p>HK: I do not know. He thought... that was he... And he had married her, and they lived together. But I don't know if he told her that it was he who had done that, I don't know that.</p> <p>IS: Maybe he did tell her.</p> <p>HK: Maybe later, when they were talking, maybe he told her, but right then maybe he did not. Yes.</p> <p>IS: As the angel said that she had to be his wife, so she had to become his wife.</p> <p>HK: Yes, she had to become his wife.</p> <p>IS: Maybe in twenty years.</p> <p>HK: And he had to wait twenty years. Or maybe he did not wait twenty years, maybe earlier, who knows. Maybe...</p> <p>IS [unclear]</p> <p>HK: You know how a student crossed a river. [unclear]</p>
[21-1:21]	<p>ді́до прика́зовав ішо́в студе́нт іш_ шко́лы а ту́йки нады́йшла́ бу́ря ту́й</p>	<p>Our old man used to tell. A student was going home from school. And there a storm came,</p>

Recording, minute	Text (22)	Translation
	<p>дóшч вода́ трéба бы йті́ а дiдо́ идé із вóлы тоты́ а ге но якiсь дiдо́</p> <p>IC пішóв на дрыва́</p> <p>ГК ци на дрыва́ ішóв ци дé ка́же вí бы ка́же менé не перевéзли через ріку́ а та перевéзу тя ка́же но а та тi шчó за едén я́ ка́же студéнт но а шчó бы тi робiв як бы серед воды́ быкi ся вы́прягли </p>	<p>rain. There was a river. He had to cross, and there is an old man going by a cart with oxen. That...well, some old man.</p> <p>IS: He went to get firewood.</p> <p>HK: Maybe to get forewood, or for some other reason. He says: could you give me a ride across the river? OK, he says, I will give you a ride, and who are you? He says, I am a student. -- Well, and what would you do if in the middle of the river the oxen get unharnessed,</p>
[21-1:22]	<p>а рúд упáв в вóду я́ ужé забýла шчо казáв шчó зробит </p> <p>IC тó не тák бýло</p> <p>ГК</p> <p>IC вíн сiв на вíс та iдут iдут тай тui ширóка рiка́ такá дiдо́ серед воды́ стáв волы́ стáли серед воды́ пiють воды́ дiдо́ ка́же злiзáй злiзáй із вóза серед воды́ </p> <p>ГК агá айно айно</p> <p>IC а вíн бýв у ходакáх такi ходакi бýли знáєте но </p> <p>ГК тák тák </p> <p>IC вíн у ходакáх бýв но як туй серед воды́ ка́же куды́ я злiзу серед воды́ з вóза а вíн знáєте волы́ рúд такui бýв помéжi а тáм ярмó а вíн скóчив на рúд та пó рудóви пішóв та та вы́тягнув свóринь тó шчо там ярмó а тui а тáм бýв</p>	<p>and the pole falls into the water? I already forgot what he said he would do.</p> <p>IS: No, it was differently.</p> <p>HK: [unclear]</p> <p>IS: He got into the cart, and they started off. And here, the river was so wide, and the old man stopped the cart in the middle of the river. The oxen have stopped in the middle of the river, and they are drinking the water. The old man says, get off the cart. In the middle of the river.</p> <p>HK: Yes, yes, yes.</p> <p>IS: And he was wearing homemade shoes. Such homemade shoes, do you know what these are.</p> <p>HK: Right, right.</p> <p>IS: He was wearing such shoes. Well, how I can get off the cart here in the middle of the river,</p>

Recording, minute	Text (22)	Translation
	<p>такый сів на ярмо імів ся за ро́гы тай </p> <p>ГК тай пішо́в </p> <p>ІС перене́сли во́лы його́ на то́д_ бі́к </p>	<p>in the middle of the river. And he... you know, oxen... there was such a pole between the two oxen, and the yoke was on it, and he jumped on this pole, and went on the pole, and pulled out the peg that was holding that yoke... and there was such a...and he sat on the yoke and grabbed the horns...</p> <p>HK: And off he went.</p> <p>IS: The oxen carried him on the other bank.</p>
[21-1:23]	<p>йб́й а то́т д́ідо нача́в йб́й та лиши́в ся д́ідо серед во́ды йб́й заведі́ заведі́ во́лы запря́жі бу́деш у ме́не у́же і ночова́ти і всьо́ бо то́ у́же до́ста ве́чером бы́ло та у́же ві́н яко́сь там оберну́в во́лы яко́сь там до́сягну́в то́т ру́т оп́ья́т запря́х ГК ві́н студе́нт </p> <p>ІС но д́ідо х́дти́в прові́рити шчо́ ты шчо́ ты зна́єш якшчо́ ты студе́нт тай всьо́ при́їхали тай у́же прийшли́ до́мі до́везли ся до́мі а то́ у́же ве́чером то́ у́же зме́рька́є ся но у́же бу́дес_ спа́ти у на́с а то́ была велико́дня субо́та ві́н ішо́в на вели́гдє́нь до́мі а на дру́гий де́нь у́же вели́гдє́нь но і всьо́ а ты́ у́же буде́с_ спа́ти а за́втра ра́но у́ста́неш тай підє́ш то́ шче́ тре́а бы́ло де́сь чере́з на дру́ге село́ іті́ пішкóм чере́с се́ла так та́к як із</p>	<p>And that old man started... So that old man was left in the middle of the river. Oh, bring back the oxen, harness them, I will let you sleep in my house. And that's it, because it was already in the evening. And he somehow turned the oxen around, somehow reached that pole, and harnessed the oxen again.</p> <p>HK: That student did.</p> <p>IS: Yes. The old man wanted to check what you... what do you know if you are a student. And well, they came home. They came home, and that was already in the evening, and it was getting dark. "So you will sleep in our house." And it was the Saturday before Easter. He was going home for Easter. And the next day is already Easter. "OK, so you will sleep here, and tomorrow early you will get up and go," he still needed to go to the next village, on foot</p>

Recording, minute	Text (22)	Translation
	вôливця́ як вѣ ка́жете но і ніч айбо то́ ишчѣ́ гусака́	through several villages. So as from Volovec, as you were saying. OK, and there also, they need to slaughter a goose,
[21-1:24]	шчѣ́ трѣа зарі́зати бо обов'яско́во гусака́ трѣ кла́сти у коша́р на вели́кдѣнь сьвяті́ти та́кий обы́чай бѣ́в у ні́х оні́ шчѣ́ там зарі́зали гусака́ ско́ро то ôпску́бли всьо́ то́то ГК наряді́ли ІС наряді́ли всьо́ покла́ли ба́ба покла́ла в пі́ч гусака́ печі́ покла́ла у пі́ч ді́до сôбі́ та́м уже́ ко́сьці́ом выла́джує на за́втра ГК хода́кы́ ІС хода́кы́ то́же хода́кы у ді́да я́кісь но́ві хода́кы уже́ на вели́кдѣнь не́ тоты́ старі́ хода́кы ді́до то всьо́ начі́стив всьо́ там сôбі́ скла́в де́сь коло поро́га вѣ́ь ра́но то всьо́ гото́вое бы́ло но та́й лі́гають спа́ти та́й по́ліга́ли спа́ти та́й ишчѣ́ і не спля́т від ра́зу шчôсь сôбі́ каску́ють а ді́до зѣ́відат уже́ студѣ́нта а я́кий у ва́с те́пѣрь у́рят у се́лі хтô у ва́с там те́пѣрь а ві́н ка́же студѣ́нт ка́же	because it is necessary to put a roasted goose in the basket on Easter, to bless it, they had such a custom. They slaughtered the goose, plucked it fast, all that. HK: Dressed it. IS: Dressed it, put everything there. And the wife put the goose in the oven to bake. She put it in the oven. The old man is preparing his clothes for the next day. HK: The shoes. IS: The shoes, also the shoes. The old man had some new shoes for Easter, not those old shoes. So the old man cleaned all that, and put all that together somewhere near the threshold so that in the morning all that is ready. And they go to sleep. And they went to sleep, but still they are not sleeping, still talking. And the old man asks the student: and who is in power in your village now? Who is the boss? And he says, the student says,
[21-1:25]	бѣ́в гусако́вський а гусако́вський пішо́в у то́рбо́вський а хода́ко́вський та його́ бра́т на його́ мі́сцьє а ді́до ага́ та́к як бы́ ві́н і́х зна́в тѣ́х не зна́в ни ді́до ни то́т	Mr. Goose was before, but Mr. Goose went to Bag-Town, and Mr. Shoe and his brother are in his place. And the old man says, yes, as if he knew them. These people. He did not know, neither the old man nor the

Recording, minute	Text (22)	Translation
	<p>то шчі́ так сусі́днє селó тай ніч оні́ заспа́ли всьо́ спля́т студéнт у ночі́ вста́є гусака́ і́с пéчи </p> <p>ГК у то́рбу</p> <p>ІС до́сігат і в то́рбу кладé тоты́ ді́довы ходакы́ шчо ді́до вы́ладив до цéркви у пі́ч покла́в у пі́ч закрыв і всьо́ но тай́ ра́но пробуді́ли тай тай я́ встаю́ бо я́ йду́ ме́ні шче́ тре́ йти́ ишче́ на дру́ге селó на вели́гдeнь ужé тай́ то́т то́рбу взя́в та пішо́в но тай́ оні́ вста́ли ді́до з ба́бдв тай́ ужé там по хòзьяйству попо́рали(н/д) ся шчо́ но тай́ і́дут выла́джовати коша́р ужé там ба́ба йде́ гусака́ </p>	<p>student. It was the next village. OK. They went to sleep, fell asleep. In the night the student gets up, takes the goose from the oven...</p> <p>HK: Into his bag.</p> <p>IS: He takes the goose and puts it in his bag. And the old man's shoes that the old man prepared to go to church in, he put them in the oven, closed it, and that's it. So in the morning they woke up and [he says]: I am getting up because I need to go to the next village for Easter. And he took the bag and off he went. And they got up, the old man and his wife, and took care of the household. And then they are going to prepare the basket, and the wife goes to get the goose...</p>
[21-1:26]	<p>гусака́ то́то ді́до ужé та́м ді́вить ужé оді́вать_ся ходакы́ ходакíв ні́є но ка́же взя́в взя́в ô то́т хода́к ка́же взя́в то́т мо́ї ходакы́ но взя́в тай́ взя́в тай́ ді́до найшо́в які́сь старі́ тоты́ шчо вчо́ра хòдів на дры́ва но та у стары́х а у́ чім пі́де то́т узя́в ходакы́ но ту́й ба́ба ді́вить_ся у́ пі́ч </p> <p>ГК а гусака́ ні́є </p> <p>ІС а гусака́ ні́є </p> <p>ГК гуса́к пішо́в у то́рбу гу́с[акóвськ....]</p> <p>ІС ай́ ходакы́ у печі́ но́ ка́же ді́ду ту́й тво́ї ходакы́ </p>	<p>The goose... The old man already is looking to put on the shoes, and there are no shoes. Well, he says, he took the shoe...that guy took my shoes. OK, so he took the shoes. So the old man found some old shoes that he was wearing the day before when he had gone to get firewood, and he had to go in the old shoes, because there was no choice, that guy took the shoes. And then the woman looked in the oven...</p> <p>HK: And the goose is not there. IS: And the goose is not there.</p>

Recording, minute	Text (22)	Translation
	а гусака́ нис̑ но́ ка́же ба́бі шчы́ ми ка́же сно́чи ка́зав шчо́ ка́же гусако́вський пішо́в у то́рбо́вський а ходако́вський та́ його́ бра́т ка́же на́ його́ місьці но́ тай так є́ тай та́к студе́нт вы́мудрова́в а́ дідо́ хо́тів про́відати но́ шчо́ він ся научи́в шчо́сь шчо́ він шчо́ він зна́є шчо́ його́ там у́чат	HK: The goose went into the bag. Mr. Goose... IS: And in the oven, there are shoes. She says, old man, here are your shoes, and there is no goose here. Well, he says to the woman, he told me last night that Mr. Goose had gone to the Bag-Town, and Mr. Shoe and his brother, he said, were in his place. And it was like this. Like this, the student was smart. And the old man wanted to check what the student had learned. What he knows, what they teach them there.
[21-1:27]	но то́ то́ не́ хтос̑ вы́дума́в то́ так бы́ло ссе́ дідо́ про́шчін бы́ на́ш роска́зовав я́ то́то запом́нив ГК дідо́ мно́го зна́в ІС ôô дідо́ сяко́х казо́к зна́в ду́же мно́го ... но́ роска́зовав ГК но́ а то́то як петро́ гу́си пас ... ІС роска́жете вы́ ци́ я́ роска́жу ГК но́ ішли́ уже́ христо́с іс петро́м ішли́ іс селя́ на село́ на пра́зник тай́ йду́т а петро́ ка́же го́споди́ я́ бы́ ка́же так го́... я́ бы́ хо́тів хо́дь_ е́ден де́нь бо́гом бы́ти	Well that... That is not that someone made it up, it really was like that. That is what our old man, blessed be his soul, used to tell. I remembered that. HK: Our old man knew a lot. IS: Oh, our old man knew a lot of such stories. [Interviewer: Did he by any chance tell stories about Jesus going around together with St. Peter?] IS: Yes, he told that. HK: Well, and that one, how St. Peter was herding geese. [Interviewer: I haven't heard that one, please tell it!] IS: Will you tell or I should tell? HK: Well, Jesus and St. Peter were going from one village to another to the village church

Recording, minute	Text (22)	Translation
		feast. So they are walking, and St. Peter says: Lord, I would like so much to be God at least for one day.
[21-1:28]	но тай йдѹт йдѹт а скотарѹ... скотарѹ выгнав гѹси пасти на по́ле выгнав тай лишѣв тай і иде сѡбі а христѡс ка́же но а на ко́го ты лишѣв тѡтѹ худѡбу ка́же та кае́ пиде́ ка́же по пѡ лютьскѣх гря́т... та_ги у нас пѡ гря́тках пиде́ та пидѹт та шкѡду наро́блят гѹси а а тѡт пастѹх по́вѣв а нѣй іх до́зірат го́спѡдь бо́х а христѡс ка́же но́ пѣтре тѣ ннѣ́ська бо́гом та бу́дь із гусьмі скотарѹ із гусьмі ІС петро́ ці́лый де́нь гѹси пас ГК та христѡс пішо́в	So they are going, and a person has taken geese to a field to graze, and has left them there, and he is walking away, and Christ asks: to who did you leave these creatures to herd? They will, he says, go to people's gardens... as here, if they go to vegetable patches, they can make a lot of damage, the geese. And that person said: let God look after them. And Christ said: listen, Peter, you are God today, so be with the geese, herd the geese. IS: St. Peter was herding geese for the whole day. HK: And Christ went
[21-1:29]	на пра́зник до це́ркви а петро́ ся лишѣв із гусьмі скотарѣти із гусьмі ІС а я́к тѡт під гру́ше́в лежа́в коли ішли́ ГК ѡ́пѣт ішо́в христѡс іс петро́м но тай ідѹт ідѹт та звідаю́т є́дин ле́жит під гру́шев а куды́ о до́рога туды́ та туды́ а тѡт нѡ́го́в указа́в ге он туды́ ка́же он туды́ ідѹт ѡ́пѣт а дѣвочка ци цу́рь'я по́ло́кала в рі́ці ци шчо́ звіда́дь_ дѣвочку а куды́ от до́рога до́рога туды́ та туды́ а она́ ся пі́тхвати́ла тай уста́ла тай ка́же йѡ́й он	to church at the village church feast, and St. Peter stayed with the geese, herding geese. IS: And how that guy was lying under a pear-tree when they were passing by? HK: Again, Christ went together with St. Peter, so they are walking, and they ask, they ask one guy lying under a pear tree, "Where is the road there and there?", and that guy pointed with his leg. There, he says. They go again, and a girl was whether rinsing clothes in the river, or something. They ask the girl: where is that road

Recording, minute	Text (22)	Translation
	туды он туды йой ідіт о туды та о туды та о туды	there and there? And she came and said: oh, there, and there, oh, go there, and there.
[21-1:30]	ідут ІС далéко пòбiгла з ними ГК ішла далéко ука́зовати сюды та туды ідіт сев дòро́гов сюды показáла но тай оні пішли а дівочка ся вернула а петрò ка́же а шчò бы сi дiвóцьци ка́же за сé шчо нáс ка́же так вiтпáвила спáвила та та он тóго шчо óнде під грúшев лежiт ка́же но тай тák ІС петрò ка́же бóже но тай як такá чiтава дiвка та тако́го ГК лiнiвoгo но а христòс ка́же та тák бо як бы ðбòе чiтавi тай тák а яг_ бы ðбòi лiнiвi тай тák недòбре ай мýсит бýти еннò лiнiвoе а еннò чiтавoе ІС по при ню i він прожiе ГК приéмнoе обý приéмнoе было шчò любý нашòi тiлькo ниé тý йдеш дойти	So they are going... IS: She went far with them. HK: She went far to show them the way. Here, and there, take this road there. She showed them. And then, they went on and the girl returned. And St. Peter says: what will be given to this girl that she showed us the way? -- That one that is lying under the pear-tree, Jesus says. Well. And it was so. IS: St. Peter says: Lord, but how come, such a hard-working girl and such a HK: lazy one. Well. And Christ says: it is because if they were both hard-working, it will be like this, and if both were lazy, that is not good either, so it must be one lazy person and one hard-working. IS: He will survive next to her. HK: Good, that one person should be good. Why is our Luba not coming for so long? Will you go and milk the cow?
[21-1:31]	ІС шчé там шчòсь iшли тóже шчò то шчé бýло а як петрá жонá бiла знáєте чýли сýте ГК а а чýла чýла м як петрá жонá бiла давнò давнò так бýло шчо жóны жóны керьвóвали людьмi	IS: There is another story, they also went, what was it? How a woman beat St. Peter? Do you know, have you heard that one? HK: Yes, I heard it, I heard how a woman beat St. Peter. Long ago, long ago it was so that women bossed men around.

Recording, minute	Text (22)	Translation
	<p>ІС старші жоны ГК старші жоны чоловік ніч жона сѡбі підє і нап'є ся і шчѡ і прийде і чоловіка наб'є і а ты тотѡ не зробив а ты он тотѡ наб'є чоловіка і всьѡ бо і верьх но і туйкы ІС бо петро все жоны жаловав ГК аа а петро айно жаловав все жоны </p>	<p>IS: Women were bosses. HK: Women were bosses, and men not at all. A wife would go and get drunk, and come and would beat a man: you did not do that, you did not do this, and she would beat her husband, and that's it. Because she was the boss. And here... IS: Because St. Peter always pitied women. HK: Yes, St. Peter really always pitied women,</p>
[21-1:32]	<p>шчо жонам бѣда бѣда то все жін жаловав ІС то петро выпросив шчѡбы жоны бѣли старші ГК но но і туйкы прийшли тоты уже двѡ христѡс іс петром і запросили оні ся до чоловіка до хѣжі ци ты бы нас спѡти прийв чоловік дѡбре а жоны нѣ жона сѡбі у кѡрчмі і приходит туй п'яно {п'яна}(26) начѡла на чоловіка вѡдити ся гѡйкати а то сѣ не зробив он тѡтѡ а он тотѡ шчѡ тотѡ сплѡт у пѡстели онѡ і пѡкі тотѡ я забѣла м ІС бѡжі старці ГК бѡжі старці ци як айно трѣба было і казѡти дѡй пѡкій а тотѡ вѣзѡла ѡжѡх ци шчѡ </p>	<p>because women's life is hard, so he always pitied women. IS: That was Peter who asked that women were bosses. HK: Yes. And then... These two already came, Christ and St. Peter, and asked a man to let them in his house, whether you would let us sleep in your house. The man goes: OK, and the wife was not there, the wife was at an inn. And she comes back drunk, and starts yelling at the husband, yelling, you did not do this, you did not do that, and what are these, sleeping in the bed, and she... I forgot. IS: God's old men. HK: God's old men or what. OK. He should have told her "leave them alone". And she took a poker or something</p>
[21-1:33]	<p>начѡла бѣти а петро іс краѡ спѡв а христѡс по при сьцину начѡла петрѡ бѣти </p>	<p>and started beating... St. Peter was in the bed on the edge, and Christ was next to the wall. She</p>

Recording, minute	Text (22)	Translation
	<p>тай пішла на двір а на двір ишчѣ за чымось біти ишчѣ но петро каже йой каже пусти каже менѣ там бо каже зайде та опят каже менѣ бде біти а жона зайшла та начала аа шчѣ м вон того пса не біла коло съцины та опят начала петра біти но петре</p> <p>ІС петро двычи був бітый ожомом</p> <p>ГК христос каже но петре ты ци обы жоны каже старши были йой каже нїт господи каже ний бде чоловік старший </p>	<p>started beating St. Peter. And went outside, to fetch something else to beat with. Well, St. Peter says: oh, he says, let me there, because, he says, she will come back and she will beat me again. And the woman come in and started... oh, I haven't yet beaten that dog next to the wall, and she started to beat St. Peter again. Well, Peter...</p> <p>IS: St. Peter was beaten twice, with a poker.</p> <p>HK: Christ says, well, Peter, do you still want women to be bosses? Oh, Lord, no, he says, let men be bosses.</p>
[21-1:34]	<p>шчѣ м он того пса не біла ... </p> <p>каже шчѣ м он того пса каже не біла за христа а христос а то опят петро тамкы ой господи</p> <p>ІС а шчѣ як піп зайця колі убив іс циганом вы муже і забули піп казав що коли бог дає так і мотыка стрілят </p> <p>ГК мотыка стрілят </p> <p>ІС а циган так жив бліско коло попа коло фары та все так до до попа заходив </p>	<p>"I haven't yet beaten that dog"! [Interviewer: What?]</p> <p>HK: She says: "I haven't yet beaten that dog", about Christ, and Christ... and it's Peter again there. Oh my God.</p> <p>IS: And also... how the priest... when he killed a rabbit, with the Roma. You may have forgotten this one. The priest said, when God permits, a hoe fires.</p> <p>HK: A hoe fires.</p> <p>IS: And the Roma lived near from the priest's house, and always dropped by to the priest's.</p>
[21-1:35]	<p>тай усѣ коли бог дає так і мотыка стрілят піп каже тай рас туй иде піп на охоту у попа была пушка а</p>	<p>And [unclear] The priest says: if God permits, even a hoe can fire. And once the priest goes hunting, the priest had a rifle,</p>

Recording, minute	Text (22)	Translation
	<p>циган іс жонѣв там копають шчѣсь на гѣрѣді бўлі ци шчѣ там копають тай дѣсь там заяць бѣжит тай піп підняв та бўг а циган підняв мотыку та бўг тѣже тай циган бігом за зайцьом пѣбіх тай хѣпив зайця но а піп каже я убѣв зайця а циган каже я убѣв зайця як ты убѣв чѣм ты убѣв зайця а вы казали шчѣ коли бѣг дає то і мотыка стрѣлят так я убѣв зайця мотыков но но шчѣ с тѣго суперѣчають_ся {суперѣчать_ся} спѣрят но тай шчѣ туй докажеш но каже піп но най буде бдеме разѣм їсти </p>	<p>and the Roma and his wife are digging something in the garden, potatoes or something. And here a rabbit runs. The priest raised the rifle and bang. And the Roma raised the hoe and bang, also. And the Roma ran after the rabbit and grabbed the rabbit. The priest says: I killed the rabbit, and the Roma says: I killed the rabbit. -- How did you kill it, what with? -- And you said that when God permits, a hoe can fire, so it was me who killed the rabbit, with my hoe. Well, so what? They are arguing, arguing, but what can you prove here. Well, the priest says, let it be, we'll eat it together,</p>
[21-1:36]	<p>матушка зготѣвит онѣ дѣма зготѣвит і бдеме разѣм їсти но ѣ прийшли до попѣ там ужѣ тѣго облупѣли поклѣли там тѣже так у пѣч зайця пекчі пѣчи у пѣч тай пѣлігѣли спѣти циган ужѣ спѣт у попѣ бѣ обѣ не втрѣтив зайця ужѣ у попѣ спѣт но тай каже піп каже кѣмѣ мѣй фѣйный сѣн буде снѣти ся тай тѣт тѣго буде і заяць но циган каже най буде но піп дѣмав шчѣ шчѣзѣ_выграти шчѣ </p> <p>ГК піп выграт</p> <p>ІС но най буде но тай нѣч пѣлігѣли спѣти сплѣт а заяць у пѣчи пѣчѣ ся рѣно пробудѣли ся но піп каже но а нѣ розказуй шчѣ тѣбі ся</p>	<p>my wife will cook it, it will cook it at home, and [we] will eat it. Well, they came to the priest's house, skinned the rabbit, put it in the oven, to bake the rabbit, and went to sleep. The Roma is sleeping at the priest's so that he does not lose sight of the rabbit, he is sleeping at the priest's. And the priest says, the one who sees a better dream, he will take the rabbit. Well, OK, the Roma says. The priest thought he would win something.</p> <p>HK: That the priest would win.</p> <p>IS: Well, OK. OK. They went to sleep, they are sleeping, and the rabbit is in the oven, baking. In the morning they woke up, and the priest says: well, tell me</p>

Recording, minute	Text (22)	Translation
	сніло циганови каже циган каже	what dream you saw. He says that to the Roma. The Roma says:
[21-1:37]	та як я буду казати та кажіт вы каже вы май старший кажіт вы но піп начав росказовати мні са сніла такá висока драбина аж до неба і я по ті драбині ліз ліз ліз аж на небо піп каже циган каже пане отче я вас там відів аж на вышньому ціпкú я думав шчо вы не вернете ся вітты а я зайця ізів а циган у ночі встав та стрипав зайця я думав шчо вы ся вітты не вернете та я шчо вы в царство уже пішли та я ізьзів зайця я вас відів аж на вышному ціпкú а циган усе выхетровав ГК но дошч падé é ИС шчóсь такóе	how will I tell, you tell first, you are more important, you tell. So the priest started telling: I dreamed, there was such a high ladder, so that it reached the sky, and I was climbing this ladder into the heaven. The Roma says: Father, I saw you there on the highest rung of the ladder, I thought you were not coming back from there, and I ate the rabbit. And the Roma had woken up at night and ate the rabbit. I thought, he says, you wouldn't come back from there and I... thought that you already went to heaven, and I ate the rabbit. I saw you on the highest rung of the ladder. So the Roma outsmarted the priest. HK: Yes. See, it is raining. IS: Something like this.
[21-1:38]	[...] ГК é é такі é ИС á та давно было шчóсь такóе ГК а тѣпѣрькы а тѣпѣрь уже май більше та идут по монастырях та тѣпѣрькы а давно давно было такóе шчо помагали якóсь єнні дру́гым тѣпѣрь попы помагают [...]	[Interviewer: Have you heard, are there such people that can see devils and help possessed people?] HK: There are such people, yes. IS: Yes, long ago there was something like that. HK: And now... and now already more often... People go to monasteries now. And long ago, people used to help one another somehow. Now it is the priests who help.

Recording, minute	Text (22)	Translation
	ГК помага́ють ту́й бі́зівно у на́з б́ыв ге ю́рча́к но та ходи́ли у бо́рбняву та́м б́ыв та́кий пі́п ІС мо́нах ГК мо́нах по́пы не́т то́то лиш мо́на́хы мо́гли помо́чі но та пі́шли там у мона́сты́рь та при́казовала уже́ жо́на	[Interviewer:] Do they? HK: They do. Here, in our neighborhood there was one Yurchak. So they went to Boronjava, there was such a priest... IS: A monk. HK: A monk. Priests cannot do that, it is only monks that could help. So they went there to the monastery, and the woman told us,
[21-1:39]	шчо там я́кі приво́зили та́м и́рже го́йкат уся́ко рычи́ть ги́ коро́ва уся́ко но та е́нні жо́ні уже́ ка́зала шчо о́на від ні́ коли́ чита́в тот мо́на́х е́нні жо́ні та ка́же чита́в до чо́тыри до чо́тыри го́дини ка́зала шчо та́к із ньо́го уже́ лиш во́да па́дала е́е текла́ та́к як цю́рько́м ІС изму́чив ся б́ыв ГК изму́чив ся б́ыв но і ка́же выходи́ а а із не́ї ка́же не вы́йду ка́е не вы́йду а да́ле о́п'ят мо́лит ся мо́лит ка́же выходи́ не вы́йду і та́к аж дру́гий де́нь пак вы́йшов	that such cases were brought there, people who neighed as horses, yelled, mooed as cows, all sorts. And one woman says, that monk was reading [prayers] over a woman until 4 am [or: 4 hours in a row?], she said that he was sweating, streams were running down his face. IS: He got exhausted. HK: He got exhausted. And then he says: come out! And it responds from inside her: I am not coming out! And he is praying and praying again, and says: come out! -- I won't! And so only the next day it came out
[21-1:40]	із іж_ жо́ны а́га є́ тако́е є́ о́на ка́зала шчо тто́ та́мкы уже́ та и́ржух го́йкають ІС но́ злі́ духы́ із лю́дины выхо́дят ГК злі́ духы́ но ІС є́ тако́е	from that woman. Yes, such things happen. She said that people there neigh and yell. IS: Yes, evil spirits come out from a person HK: Yes, evil spirits. IS: Such things happen.

Recording, minute	Text (22)	Translation
	<p>ГК його пак вітты взяли я забыла де теперь із боронявы другый монах та практикує ся бог знає як ци ци бде так та може і бде молитвы всю молитвы </p> <p>ІС як він буде та трє мати сілу</p> <p>ГК но ай як </p> <p> ... </p>	<p>HK: He was later transferred there, I forgot where to. Now there is another monk from Boronjava, he is learning that. I don't know if he will be able to do it too. But maybe he will. It's all in prayers.</p> <p>IS: It depends how he will turn out. One needs to have strength.</p> <p>HK: Of course.</p> <p>[Interviewer: I heard in a different village that a priest could see a witch on Easter.]</p>
[21-1:41]	<p>ГК піп </p> <p>ІС може і бів такый ясновідєць</p> <p>ГК всю може быти</p> <p>ІС є ясновітьці шчо лудину видит шчо чим він дыхає у нас тут нема таких но но є є ясновітьці </p> <p> ... </p> <p>ГК а тотó тотó тóже тотó тóже так было шчо якось могли могли тотó угадовати якось </p> <p>ІС так майже єсєї євки дяковѡї отєць не коли борону якись від нього укра́в </p>	<p>HK: A priest?</p> <p>IS: Maybe there was such a priest. A clairvoyant.</p> <p>HK: Maybe.</p> <p>IS: There are clairvoyants that can see a person, what he breaths with. We don't have such people here, but there are clairvoyants.</p> <p>[Interviewer: Maybe there were such people who could divine who stole something and where the stolen thing was.]</p> <p>HK: Oh, that, that also, that also so... It was that somehow they could... they could divine that somehow.</p> <p>IS: And maybe the father of that Evka Diakova, no? when someone stole a harrow from him.</p>
[21-1:42]	ГК когó	HK: What?

Recording, minute	Text (22)	Translation
	<p>ІС бѣрѣну від нѣго коли украѣв бѣ^ов </p> <p>ГК мѣже тѣм є дѣдо коли казѣв за мѣхы шчо принесе принесут </p> <p>ІС а тай дѣдо прѣсто тѣк казѣв </p> <p>ГК ай мѣже </p> <p> ... </p> <p>ГК тѣй єдин бѣ^ов чѣлѣвѣк та ѣк казѣ... та принесли му пак бѣрѣну </p> <p>ІС но так вѣн шчѣсь і знѣв і каже вѣн принесе самѣй самѣй принесе тѣ бѣрѣну но вѣн шчѣзь знѣв євкы дякѣвѣ отѣць</p> <p>ГК та шчѣсь знѣли знѣли</p> <p>ІС но вѣн шчѣсь там помѣлів ся ци шчѣ і тѣт на тѣт приніс бѣрѣну і шчѣ казѣли шчо тѣм ѣстрыми зубкѣми на плѣчѣ сѣбѣ пѣклѣв і держѣв пѣкѣ тѣй не упѣвѣв шчо клѣдѣ і тѣт держѣв на плѣчѣх но знѣти знѣли знѣли тѣтѣ людѣ </p> <p>ГК нѣ та давнѣ знѣли вѣдиш ѣк </p> <p>ІС тѣт самѣй приніс нѣхтѣ за нѣм не ѣшѣв </p> <p>ГК і дѣдо наш є слѣвѣникѣв слѣвѣник </p>	<p>IS: When someone stole a harrow from him.</p> <p>HK: Maybe there is an old man who told about the sacks that he will bring... they will bring...</p> <p>IS: No, the old man did not mean that.</p> <p>HK: But maybe...</p> <p>[Interviewer: What?]</p> <p>HK: There was one man here, and as he said, they later brought it to him.</p> <p>IS. Yes. He knew something. And he says: the guy will bring it himself, he will himself bring that harrow. He knew something, this father of Evka D'akova.</p> <p>HK: Yes, he really knew something.</p> <p>IS: Yes. He somehow... whether prayed or what, and that guy, he brought back the harrow, and people also said that he put it on his back these sharp nails down, and he was holding it untill the man told him to put it down, he was holding it on his shoulders. Yes. People used to know something.</p> <p>HK: Yes, long ago, they knew, see.</p> <p>IS: That guy brought it back by himself, no one went after him.</p> <p>HK: And our old man, Slavunik.</p>

Recording, minute	Text (22)	Translation
[21-1:43]	<p>колі на рѳпѳ ходіли но тай йшли на рѳпѳ он туды гѳт за хѳст на рѳпѳ давнѳ з бочкѳми сѳкѳми ходіли та </p> <p>ІС у солѳтвино </p> <p>ГК ісь_ кінѳми а</p> <p>ІС у солѳтвино</p> <p>ГК но та йшли вітты а будовѳли хѳжу лѳде но тай ішли тай рѳс кѳні стѳли і кѳні не підут </p> <p>ІС на мѳсьці сѳ тѳпчут </p> <p>ГК на мѳсьці сѳ тѳпчут і вішта вішта вішта ай кѳні не підут на мѳсьці сѳ тѳпчут а якѳсь там бѳв кѳже а нѳ кѳже іді та принесі ми кѳже тріску вітты з будѳвы но тай пѳк дѳдови тѳтѳ тріску тот приніс но тай дѳдо шчѳсь я не знѳю шчо там ужѳ робѳв і дѳдо вішта і кѳні пішли і дѳдо іде </p>	<p>When he went to get the brine, so they were riding there, beyond Khust. Long ago they went to get brine, they took such barrels.</p> <p>IS: To Solotvyno.</p> <p>HK: In horse driven carts.</p> <p>IS: To Solotvyno.</p> <p>HK: So they went from there, and people were building a house, and they were passing this house, and here, the horses stopped and wouldn't go.</p> <p>IS: They were stamping their feet, but not moving, stamping in place. And there was such a man there, and he says, go and bring me a sliver. From there, from the building site. And he brought the old man that sliver, and the old man did something, I don't know what he was doing there, and the old man said: gee! and the horses started. And the old man is riding,</p>
[21-1:44]	<p>тѳй гѳйкают із зѳду чекѳйте чекѳйте чекѳ... а дѳдо шчі май кѳні рѳшат ѳбы кѳні ішли агѳ но та пѳк </p> <p>ІС дѳвит ай чѳлѳвік бѳжіт із зѳду </p> <p>ГК чѳлѳвік бѳжіт бѳжіт догѳнят нѳ тай дѳдо ужѳ мѳло хѳтів і пѳмуштровѳти тѳго тѳх тай дѳдо ужѳ стѳв а шчѳ є шчѳ дѳдо такѳй му шчѳ є шчѳ йѳй</p>	<p>and here someone is yelling from behind: wait, wait, wait! And the old man makes his horses ran faster, so that they ran. And then...</p> <p>IS: They look, and a man is running towards them from behind.</p> <p>HK: A man is running after them, and catches up with them. The old man already wanted to teach them. So the old man stopped his horses: what is it?</p>

Recording, minute	Text (22)	Translation
	<p>ка́же б́йте ся бо́[га] ка́же чо́лoвiк ка́же ци по́руба́в ся ци уми́(i)рат шчо́сь тако́е ага́ но ка́же но і́ди і́ди ка́же ніч му ка́же не бде́ ка́же но обы́ сьте ка́же бі́льш ка́же тако́е не робі́ли ка́же ді́до по́вів тай ді́до шчо́зь_ зна́в і ІС но але які́сь то́же зна́в іс т́йх ГК і та́м зна́в і ді́до знав відверну́ти та́м зна́в то́т іспе́рти фу́ру </p>	<p>that's what the old man asks him: what? Oh, he says, what are you doing, don't you fear God, he says, a man there, whether he cut himself badly, whether he is dying, something like that. Aha. Well, the old man says, go now, nothing bad will happen to him, but you guys don't do that again, he says. That's what the old man said. The old man knew something.</p> <p>IS: Yes. But someone from these guys also knew something.</p> <p>HK: There, a guy knew something, and the old man knew how to undo it. The guy there knew how to stop the cart,</p>
[21-1:45]	<p>а ді́до зна́в то́же шчо́с но а хто йо́го зна́є шчо́ він но тай шчо́ він робі́в на ті́ трі́сьці де о́ні будова́ли ... ГК будова́ли ха́ту ІС посла́в там дру́гого шчо прині́с ві́тты то пішо́в іт ті́ будо́ві та прині́с йо́му де́сь та́к ... но ГК ві́тты но та не́дале́ко то́то будова́ли де́сь коло до́ро́гы шчо́ то́т із... іспе́р і ко́ні ІС та́м де любу́ трі́ску буде́ теса́ти а те́шуть то та́м</p>	<p>and the old man knew also something. And who knows what he... and what he did with this sliver from the building site.</p> <p>[Interviewer: I just didn't understand from where he got this sliver.]</p> <p>HK: They were building a house.</p> <p>IS: The old man sent another person to bring from there... That person went to this building site and brought him... Something like that.</p> <p>HK: From there. So they were building somewhere near the</p>

Recording, minute	Text (22)	Translation
	<p>кругом кругом тріскы кругом будін[ка]</p> <p>ГК а дідо загна́в то́го вже со́перника {супу́тника} сво́го іди́ ми ка́же принеси́ тріску́ ві́тты тай він прині́с тай він дідо шчо́сь на ті трісьць шчо́сь прѣмѣвив тай то́го чо́лѣвіка тай ко́ні ся ру́шили тогды́ а чо́лѣвік упа́в шчо </p>	<p>road so that that guy could stop the old man's horses.</p> <p>IS: There, any old sliver, they hew wood, and all around there are slivers, around the house.</p> <p>HK: And the old man sent that person who was going with him, go, he says, bring me a sliver from there, and he did, and the old man said something on this sliver, and that guy... horses could move then, and the guy, either fell or what,</p>
[21-1:46]	<p>я не зна́ю ци по́рубав ся ци ци та́ко́й при сме́рті бы́ѡв</p> <p>ІС шчо́сь му недо́бре ся зробі́ло </p> <p>ГК а́й недо́бре ся зробі́ло та чо́лѣвік упа́в та но а </p> <p>ІС а трі́ска вы зна́єте шчо шчо теса́ти</p> <p>ГК но і і то́т пак доганя́в ді́да уже́ дру́гий доганя́в не то́т а ді́до шче́ шче́ цу́ цу́ ко́ні цу́ цу́ кобы́ ко́ні ішли́ ма́ло чо́го оні́ тако́е ро́бля́т</p> <p>ІС но та́дь_ ді́до каза́в те́сьць мі́й шчо де́ то у во́лѣся́нці ци де́ яка́зь_ ба́ба трахто́ры спе́рла ко́лѣспні́ трахто́ры </p> <p>ГК но тай</p> <p>ІС ішли́ де́сь чере́з йе́ї ве́зли вози́ли гні́й весно́в і де́сь пішли́ чере́з йе́ї зе́млю шо не зві́дали ся ду́мають колго́с тай колго́с і ба́ба і трахто́ры туй ра́з нача́ли всо́ю на мі́сьці і і спе́рла</p>	<p>I don't know if he cut himself, or was dying.</p> <p>IS: Something bad happened to him. /[he fainted]</p> <p>HK: yes, something bad happened to him. /[he fainted], and he fell down, yes.</p> <p>IS: And do you know what a sliver is? When they hew wood.</p> <p>HK: yes, and... he who then ran after the old man, it was another guy, not that guy. And the old man still more ... gee gee horses, so that horses go a bit. Why would they do that.</p> <p>IS: And the old man said, my father-in-law, that somewhere in Volosianka, or somewhere, a woman stopped tractors, tractors from a collective farm.</p> <p>HK: Yes [unclear]</p> <p>IS: They were going through her... they were carrying manure in spring and somewhere went through her</p>

Recording, minute	Text (22)	Translation
	трахто́ры і да́льше ходи́ли ту ба́бу проси́ти шчо́бы пусти́ла то́то трахто́ры но	land, and did not ask permission. They think, it is collective farm, after all. And the woman... And the tractors at once started ... in one place. So she stopped the tractors. And later they would go to that woman to ask her to let tractors go.
[21-1:47]	шчо́ то же́лізо іспе́рла но то ди́до роска́же то́ у во́лося́нці бы́ло то́ де льві́вська о́бласа́ць у́же ГК не у во́лося́нці ай о́де то́та ІС в ялинко́ватім ялинко́ваті ГК бога́тьська ІС а бога́тьська но то трахто́ры спе́рти то ко́ні то́ йшче́ та́к но а трахто́ры то́ у́же же́лізо то́ і всьо́ і трахто́ры на ми́сці сто́яли і ни йшли́ не мо́гли ру́шити ся і всьо́ ГК ай мно́го тако́го мно́го тако́го шчо́ шо́ є́ є́ люде́й шчо́ оні́ шчо́зь зна́ют зна́ють є́ ІС а шче́ мо́же роскажі́т як ліс ру́бали да́вно як пушча́ли по́ різа́х де́рево то́же інте́ресно лісо́ру́бы ко́лі ру́бали ба́ба то́ зна́є май всьо́	It is iron, and she stopped them. That the old man can tell, it was in Volosianka, it is already the Lviv region. HK: Not in Volosianka but here, that... IS: In Ialynkovate HK: Bohatska. IS: Ah, Bohatska. Well. To stop tractors, it is something. To stop horses, it is not that difficult, but tractors are iron. And all the tractors were standing in one place and did not go, could not move, and that was it. HK: But there are many such things, many such things are. There are people who know something, there are. IS: And also maybe you will tell as they cut wood long ago and let it down by such troughs, wood, that is also interesting, when the woodcutters cut wood. Our old woman knows that.
[21-1:48]	... ГК с то́го бо́ку жо́лобы і с сьо́го бо́ку де́рево і с то́го	HK: There are troughs on that side, wood from that side, wood

Recording, minute	Text (22)	Translation
	<p>бóку дéрево і тák я́к о о́нде з гé рубáли близне́ць но айбо не такóе та тó робі́ли то́то рі́зы тák шчо ІС айбо тáм на сы́під які́сь дошкы́ кля́ли ГК м ІС дошкы́ які́сь на спі́т нéт ГК не дошкы́ ай то́ты бала́нчі то́ты тóнкí май дéрева то́ты гóрі но тай як як рубáли та гóрі і дóлі ты́м ма́ло так пушча́ли ІС там якóсь коті́ли в рі́зы ГК но та якóсь ужé у ні́х то́то там бы́ло я шчо́сь такóе по́мню бе́рова́ли та ІС такóе рошши́рєня мо́же бы́ло там ГК та лі́ш ІС і туды́ качáли дéрево ішлó по рі́зах то́тых то далéко мо́ж бы́ло </p>	<p>from this side, and like this, as here. So they were cutting wood, on the Twin mountain, but not like this, and they were making such troughs, so that... IS: But they put some boards underneath. HK: What? IS: They put some boards underneath, no? HK: Not boards but such... small pieces of wood, these thin trunks. Up there. When they cut wood up in the mountains, they let it go down these troughs. IS: They put it somehow in these troughs. HK: Yes, they had this up there. I remember something like that. They were strong. IS: Maybe there was such wide place there. HK: Should be. IS: And they rolled the wood there, and it went down these troughs, it could go far.</p>
[21-1:49]	<p>ГК далéко далéко йдй та п́ра́вда шчо́ там ІС куды́ хóті́ли ца́пі́нами ГК го́споди тай я́ коли́ бы́ла у то́му о́нде у прі́слôпі ІС айбо сідáйте блі́же бо не бде́ чу́ти ГК а вы́ пі́шете у сі́янці но</p>	<p>HK: Yes, very far, that's right. IS: They pushed it where they wanted with hooks. HK. Oh. And when I was there, in Prysliip... IS: Move closer, or you won't hear. HK: And you are writing? In the nursery where they grow</p>

Recording, minute	Text (22)	Translation
	<p>так тѣпѣрь та ссѣ ужѣ конѣць </p> <p>ІС шчо</p> <p>ГК та ішло дѣрево та і всѣо та і шчо там</p> <p>ІС но та кáжу як тотó там пушчáли я не знáю</p> <p>ГК пушчáли дѣрево і сходитó тотó гѣ то аж на стакаду áйно як пушчáли тák із гóры а я бýла у дрúгим сѣлѣ у сiяньцi смѣричкы сьме садiли тó ся трапит но та а люде далѣко далѣко </p>	<p>young spruces. Well, now it is the end already.</p> <p>IS: What?</p> <p>HK: The wood was going, and that's it.</p> <p>IS: Yes, and I say I don't know how they let it go down there.</p> <p>HK: They let the wood go down and it went down. The let it down from the mountain. And I was in a different village, in a nursery, we were planting spruces. That happens. And people far away</p>
[21-1:50]	<p>рубáли та пушчáли дерево тáм уу недáлеко коло сѣбе а сннá штука ся вiн_ нiх вбýрвала тó я свóйима очiма тотó вiдiла мнóго рас та далѣко тák як он iз он тóго вѣрхá як гѣт он тáм тá штука як iшлá та вдáрить_ ся у пнiя та д гóрi а дáле тák идѣ идѣ i тák i тák i тотó через зрýб далѣко iшло i дóтi шчо приишлó мý сннi но скóрше мы пiшли та на дрúгий бiк исьме перебiгли скóро та гóйкаме на дрúгих тiкáйте тiкáйте бо дѣрево идѣ агá через зрýб мý вiдiли онi не вiдiли тотó дѣ там iшчѣ ся лишило ай мý вiдiли зрýбом </p>	<p>were cutting wood and letting it go down. The wood. Not far from themselves. And one log got away from them. I saw it with my own eyes, many times. And it was far, like from that mountain over there. This log, as it went down, it hit against a stump and went up, and then went down like this, through the trough (?). And until it came... we... we went before that and went to the other side, run there real fast, and we are yelling to others: run, run, because a log is going down, across the trough(?). We saw it and they did not see it. It was still there, and we saw how it went down the trough.</p>
[21-1:51]	<p>i приишлó i пак удáрило было но шчо пак i звiтты принесли я пак забýла пак у бóлници бýла шчо </p>	<p>And then it hit, and then they brought her from there. I forgot how it was. She was in a hospital then, it did not kill her.</p>

Recording, minute	Text (22)	Translation
	<p>зѡвсім насьмѣрть і не убѣло нѣ тотѡ тотѡ ѣ такѡе шчо дѣрево і дѣрево такѡе ѣ шчо мѹсит попáсти на кѡгось шчо мѹсит убѣти тák казáли кáжут а бѡг знáе </p> <p> ... </p> <p>ГК ѣ такѡе дѣрево агá шчо мѹсит попáсти обѹ убѣло всьѡ є на свѣті бѡг сятѹй знáе всьѡ є на свѣті </p> <p> ... </p> <p>ГК я́к</p> <p> ... </p> <p>ГК та кáут шчо ѣ </p>	<p>That happens that a tree, there is such a tree that must hit a person, that it must kill someone. That's what people say, God knows if it is right.</p> <p>[Interviewer: That there is such a tree?]</p> <p>HK: There is such a tree, yes, that must hit someone and kill. There is everything in the world. Holy God knows. There is everything in the world.</p> <p>[Interviewer: Does it happen that something makes a person gets lost in the forest?]</p> <p>HK: What?</p> <p>[Interviewer: Does it happen that something leads a person astray in the woods?]</p> <p>HK: People say it happens.</p>
[21-1:52]	<p>кáжут шчо ѣ є шчо мѡже мѡже як рáз івán учѡра снѡчи приказѡвав ѡрѣхы тѡвк я́ та у нáс єдѣн тѹйкы сѣсь шчо я казáла сѣсь юрѣк михáйло юрѣйѡвич казáв шчо глухѹй на ўхо вы коло нѡѡго бѹли коло тѡго шчо глухѹй агá но та казáв шчо пѣшѡв на ѡрѣхы в нѣдѣлю давнѡ шчѣ і при кѡлгѡзі агá тáм на єннѡ пѡле і казáв шчо водѣло го шо вѣн не знáв кудѣ вѣйде тудѣ пѣшѡв а трѣ рáз ѡбѣйшѡв наѡколо та тогдѣ ся оптямѣв шчо водѣло го у я́ казáла</p>	<p>They say that there is something that... Yes, it happens. Ivan just told last night, when he was grinding walnuts. There is one guy here, the one I told you, this one, Yurik, Myhailo Iurievych told, the one who is deaf in one ear. You were to his place, the one who is deaf. Yes, so he said that he went to gather nuts once on a Sunday, long ago, at the time of collective farms. Yes. There he went to a field, and he said something made him lose his way, so that he did not know where he was going. He went there, and went three times around, and then he came to himself. Something led him</p>

Recording, minute	Text (22)	Translation
	шчо за то шчо в нѣділю йшѡв при слѹжбі	astray. I said it was because he went on Sunday at the time of the church service.
[21-1:53]	та за тто го водило є є такѡс є куды йдѣ людїна перехрестїти ся трѣба помолїти ся трѣба ішли три дївочки черес штрѣку ішѡв пѡїст і онї як рѣз прийшли прийшли і дѹмают перѣскочиме і онї перѣскочили штрѣку та лиш перѣскочили тай тай пѡїст так а то загнѣв стѣршый дїявол мѣншого дїявола обы іх убїв обы іх там машинѣ убїла тогдѣ прихѡдит кѣже а чѡмѹ сѣ кѣже не зробїв чѡмѹ онї кѣже перейшли	And because of that something led him astray. There is something like this. If a person goes somewhere, one needs to make a sign of the cross over oneself, and pray. Once three girls crossed a railway. A train was coming, and they came to the rails and thought: we'll jump it. And they jumped it and as soon as they were on the other side, the train came. And a chief devil sent a younger devil so that he should kill them, so that they get run over by the train. So the devil comes back and that one says: why didn't you do that, how come they could cross safely?
[21-1:54]	бо кѣже єннѣ ся перехрестїла а дрѹгу мѣти перехрестїла а трѣта ѡпѣт молїла ся і кѣже і не мїг я тотѡ кѣже зробїти то всюды трѣба лиш пѡмолїти ся перехрестїти ся ідѣ в дѡрѡгу перехрестїти ся ѡнгелика просїти прѣсьѣтѹ дїву на пѡмѡч тай бѡг помѣгат тогдѣ ... но та і то кѣжѹт шчо і тотѡ є такѡс но тай шчѡ то від усьѡго лиш трѣба ся молїти	And this one answers: because one made a sign of the cross over herself, and the other, her mother crossed her, and the third one prayed. And, he says, I could not do that. Everywhere you go, you need to pray and make a sign of the cross, if you go somewhere, and ask an angel, and the Holy Virgin to help you. And then God helps you. [Interviewer: Does it happen that a person sees something at night?] HK: Yes, people say that also happened. And what, you just need to pray against everything,

Recording, minute	Text (22)	Translation
[21-1:55]	від усьо́го [при]в́идить ся і ся бойи́т та мо́лити ся тай тай то́то яко́сь прохóдит бо́гочко хорони́т лю́дину як ка́жут без бо́га й не до поро́га ... у лісі та я то́то то́же чу́ла но а я зна́ю ци то́ мо́же бы́ти щчо то́ айно у лісі чека́йте щчо́сь то щче́ хóтила ка́зати	against everything. It can show itself to you and... one is afraid, and one needs to pray, and that thing somehow disappears. God protects a person. So they say, without God you cannot go even as far as a threshold. [Interviewer: And people say, something one can hear music in the woods?] HK: In the woods? I also heard that, but I don't know whether it can be... what that is... Yes, in the woods... Wait, what was it that I wanted to say?
[21-1:56]	е́ е́ тако́е е́ де́ лю́дину убь́е убь́е ци ге́ та́к гі де́рево вать щчо́ і та́м го́йкат го́йкат і ссе́ ге́ щчо іва́н ка́же щчо щчо сьме́ пе́рше говори́ли се́сі ри́зы щчо су́т та та́м уб'е́ чо́лoвiка не ра́з ка́зали лю́де щчо я́ко́сь ся не ві́тступит і де́рево надле́тить і убь'е́ і всьо́ і пак там го́йкат ва́рды ва́рды го́йкат та́к як лю́де го́йкают та та́ким го́лосом го́йкат ва́рды ва́рды ва́рды вби́ ся ві́тступав ва́рды ге то та́к у люде́й щчо робі́ли в лісу́ та такі слова́ слова́ бы́ли не ка́же щчо ві́тступі́ ся ай ва́рды ва́рды ва́рды	Yes, there are such things. Where a person gets killed, so as, for example, a tree kills a person, there something shouts. And that is, what Ivan said, that we just talked about, that there are these troughs, and there, people said many times that, if one does not move over and a tree goes down and kills him, then later it shouts there: <i>vardy</i> <i>vardy</i> ! It shouts like people shout, it says <i>vardy vardy</i> , so that one gets out of the way. That is, people who worked in the woods, they had such words, they wouldn't say "get out of the way", but <i>vardy</i> <i>vardy</i> .
[21-1:57]	... із ві́вця́ми ...	[Interviewer: And when people go herding sheep, do they see something there?] HK: Herding sheep?

Recording, minute	Text (22)	Translation
	<p>я шчòсь не чу́ла обы́ вівча́rí то́то ка́зали́ ци́ мо́же та́коє бы́ти шчòсь не зна́ю </p> <p> ... </p> <p>як</p> <p> ... </p> <p>а́нгел </p> <p> ... </p>	<p>[Interviewer: When they stay there.]</p> <p>HK: I haven't heard shepherds say anything like that, whether such things happen. I don't know.</p> <p>[Interviewer: And does it happen that people see something in dreams?]</p> <p>HK: What?</p> <p>[Interviewer: Say, they see an angel...]</p> <p>HK: An angel?</p> <p>[Interviewer: Or something like this. Or a person who has died.]</p>
[21-1:58]	<p>а́ лю́дина ся сні́т а́ та́коє ся сні́т сні́т лю́дина́ як шчо́ умре́ но́ та шчо́ сні́т ся у на́с бы́в е́дє́н хлòпи́ць у два́цї́ трї́ ро́кы уто́пив ся у ла́твії́ а́рмію́ вы́служив всьо́ пішо́в на ро́бо́ту та́й та́й та́м ся вто́пив і́ ві́тты го́ пак приве́зли сю́ды ту́й ту́й исьме́ го́ хорони́ли та м[є́нь]і́ ся то́же пак сні́ло а перет то́го и́шчє́ як ма́в уже́ вы́йти до́мі ци́ мав уме́рти ци́ шчо́ та́ він ся самы́й не вто́пив ай́ дру́гий го́ вто́пив бы́о́в дво́х лю́де́й е́дє́н лиши́в чо́лòві́к сем.... шесте́ро ді́тє́й </p>	<p>HK: Yes, one can see a [dead] person in a dream. Such things come in a dream, people who have died do appear in a dream. We had one son, and when he was twenty-three, he drowned in Latvia. He finished his army service, started working there, and there he drowned. And they brought his body from there here. We buried him here. And I had a dream. Even before, when he had to come home, or had to die, or what. But he did not drown by himself, another person made him and another guy drown. That guy left seven... six children behind,</p>
[21-1:59]	<p>шчо́ уто́пив ся́ то́т прї́гну́в {ско́чив} як оні́ сі́ли де́сь ма́ло то́то де́сь уве́зли ся́ на ло́ццї́ та оні́ два́ сі́ли на́ш хлòпе́ць та́й той то́т</p>	<p>the guy who got drowned. And this person jumped, after they sat... They went somewhere in a boat, and they two were sitting there, our son and that</p>

Recording, minute	Text (22)	Translation
	чòлòв'ік іс синичòла óнде тай вéзли ся а тóт прїгнув якòсь на лòтьку і лòтьку перевернóв і всò та нáш попáв у крутіль тák стóячи го й найшли там не мїг вїтты вїн дóже знáв плáвати тай боронїти ся вїт такòго попáв у крутіль і не мїг нóгы вїтягнути с'як нóгы му бýли в піску а тóт тóт ся утопїв тóже чòлòв'ік шчо знáю казáти та перет тóго мнї ся сніло і сніли снý ми ся сніли	man from Synychiv, they were in the boat, and this guy jumped somehow in the boat and turned the boat over, and that was it. And our son got into a whirlpool like this, standing. Because they found him there, he could not get out from there. He had known how to swim, and how to protect himself from such things, but he got into a whirlpool and could not get his feet out of there, and his feet were in the sand. And that other guy also drowned. I don't know much about that. And before that, I saw a dream, I saw several dreams.
[21-2:00]	усé жонá у бїлім і дїдо у бїлім і о тák тák як о тák сїв і онї там стóят а я тўй тотò всò бїлоє комнáты бїлі усò усò бїлоє такòе шчо но тáг_ як сьніх но і жонá мєні за єнно писáла ба айбо кєдь нїгда не тямлю не нáшчо бдў казáти шчо ттò вадь ттò бо я не тя[млý] а онá мєні всò писáла шчòсь писáла і рáз мнї ся сніт но чекáйте óп'ят такый такый великий дїм і о тák дєсь с'як с'який великий калідóр і сь сьòго бòку косїсі і с тóго бòку	And it was always, a woman in white and an old man in white, and like this, and he were standing there, and I was here, and all that was white, and the rooms were white. Everything was white as snow. And that woman was always writing... But I don't remember, and I won't say what it was, because I don't remember. And she was always writing, writing something. And once I saw a dream. Wait, how was it. Again, there was such a large house, and such a large hallway. Flowers on that side and on this side,
[21-2:01]	тотò всò у косїцях вїтьсі захід і я якòсь тотò ідý ідý туды і і тáг_гі бы у дрýгі кóмнаті тай і о тák у кóмнаті а/йбо і тотò бїлоє а тáм о	everything was covered with flowers. From there, there was an entrance, and I was walking there something, into another room, and in that room

Recording, minute	Text (22)	Translation
	<p>такі діточкы так яг_ бы їх пострих усьо у білім і межи німи дідо у білім дідо вышшый а діточкы оть_ сякі кругом усьо у білім у білі одежи і каже мні і каже дідо мні ишчѣ нам каже єдно... єдин хыбіт о так мні ишчѣ живый быв уже умер та я не кажу ай ай каже шчѣ нам каже єден треба нам каже єдин хыбіт но і ніч та тото сон я тот сон нігда не могу забыти </p>	<p>everything was also white, and there were sich kids there, all the same height, and all in white, and among them there was an old man in white. The old man was taller, and the children were like this, around him, all in white, in white clothes. And he says to me, the old man says: we are missing one more, one more. And so I saw it... he was still alive... or already died. I don't say anything. And he says, we need one more. And that's it, that was my dream. I cannot forget this dream.</p>
[21-2:02]	<p>і тод_ дідо передо мнѡв і тоты діточкы но того было коло діда і я мѣні тото уже ніч но ай і туй рас утопів ся выходит шчо уже звѡнят вѣтты шчо не кажут шчо утопів ся ай нешчасный слўчай тай пак пішѡв туды уже чѡлѡвѣк уже го там не застав бо оні го вѣтправили вѣтты были машинѡв ой гѡсподи но тай тогды коли їх уже вѣзли та туй исьме ходили уже на по... то все но та шчо як як шчо якый слўчай не хѡтіли казати шчо втопів ся не хѡтіли лиш слўчай тай </p>	<p>And I see this old man in front of myself, and these children, around him. And that was it. And then my son got drowned. They send me... They called me from there and said... They did not say he drowned himself, they said it was an accident. And my husband went there, but he did not find him there because they already had sent the body from there in a truck. Oh my God. And then while they already sent here these two bodies, we went to ask diviners. And what was it, what kind of an accident, they did not want to tell me that he had drowned, did not tell, just said “an accident”.</p>
[21-2:03]	<p>побили побив ся та ссѣ та тото от но й ніч і туй мні ся уже коли їх вѣзли дѡмі і чуй мѣні ся сніт уво льѡві </p>	<p>Whether he hurt himself, and this, and that. And I didn't say anything. And again, I hear in a dream, “they are in Lviv, in</p>

Recording, minute	Text (22)	Translation
	та у ђльвѡвѣ сѹт і на дѣвѣдь_ гѡдин кѡже будѹт тѹйкы у новосѣлицѣ і вѣділа м якї тотѡ трѹны тѡм шчо шчі у львѡвѣ были тѡм им вѣділа якї трѹны і я тѹйкы ужѣ у нѣ тѹй ужѣ сплѣт сестрѡ тай с прїслопа нѣвѣстка тѹйкы сут тай кѡжу уставѣйте гѣт та кѡжу ладїт дѡшчо їсти а шчѡ кѡжу на дѣвѣдь_ гѡдин кѡжу тѹй будѹт кѡжу люде везѹт кѡжу нѣ побитых кѡжу ай мертвых кѡжу двѡх кѡжу везѹт онї начѡли у двѣ на мѣне	Lviv, and they will be here at nine o'clock, here in Novoselytsia". And I saw the coffins, when they still were in Lviv. I saw them in a dream, what the coffins looked like. And here, I had a sister in my house and a relative from Pryslip, they were here, and I said, get up, and, I said, make something to eat, because, I say, at nine o'clock there will be people here, they are bringing not the injured people, but dead people, I say, two of them. They both started saying,
[21-2:04]	шчѡ ты такѡе шчѡ ты такѡе сѡн та сѡн шчѡ ты у сѡн вїруеш тай шчѡ я кѡжу не вїрую кѡжу но так кѡжу будѣ кѡжу на дѣвѣть і тѡчно на дѣвѣть_ гѡдин были тѹй у новосѣлицѣ тѹй ѡде га гатї но тай тай і шчѡ рѡс ся потопїли і потопїли тѹйкы шѡфѣр ужѣ тѡт шчо вѣвїс тай кѡже їх кѡже утопїв кѡже онї ся кѡже самї не потопїли айбо та кѡже обы їх давѡв обы го давѡли на тотѡ тѡг_ гї в сѹд а мы пак ся порѡдили кѡжу чѡлѡвїку та шчѡ нам кѡжу тотѡ дѡсьць шчо йѡгѡ пѡсѹдѣд_ василѣ кѡжу не не было нїѣ тай не бдѣ кѡжу а нам шчо та обы алїмѣнты вбы нам платїв та шчѡ тот шчо їх утопїв	what are you talking about, it was a dream, do you really believe in a dream. I say, I don't believe, but it will be like that, at nine o'clock. And exactly at nine o'clock they were here in Novoselytsia, there on the bridge. And so what. They got drowned. Here, the driver who brought the bodies here, he said, that one made them drown, they had not drowned by themselves. And he said, that guy should be sued. And we talked about this, and I said to my husband: what use will it be to us that that guy will be in court? Vasyl is dead, and why we need the money that the one who made them drown should pay us.

Recording, minute	Text (22)	Translation
[21-2:05]	не трéба кáжу нам івáне ни алимéньтів ни ніч бо василя ние тай тай нáс кáжу туй мóже скóро не бдé тай сімдéсятого рóку сімдéсятого рóку лишé вжé кілько тотó зáраз тотó сóрòк рóків о гóсподи бóже мій но тай тáк та бýли сьме дáшчо хóдь íли мáло	Ivan, I say, we don't need this money or anything, because Vasyl is dead, and we will probably be dead soon too. It was in 1970, in 1970. How long ago was it? Forty years ago. Oh my God. Well it was like that. Will you come and eat something?
[22-00] (27) ГК ішóв пан так як грóв яг_ бы тéпéрь казáти ... рóзумієте но шчо йогó всьó там тóня пшениця сесé всьó та йшóв тотó дивíти та віз го кóчіш нó ужé на ІС кóньох ГК на кóнях на ті як тотó ся кáже на брыцьці ага на такім дві кóлеса велікі і тотó такóе брычка казáли і ідýт і стріжáют ціганы ціганы іх но і ци оні стрітили ци як ужé стрітили цигáнів тай тáм гóвóрят тогды пан кáже а а як вы жйєте іс чо́го вы жйєте пán звьідат цігáнів мý з мaнтý HK: A nobleman was riding, such as a count, how would we say now? [Interviewer: I understand.] HK: You understand? Well, so that everything was his, there was a large plot of land, wheat, all that. And he went to look at that all. And a coachman was driving him. Well, on... IS: Horses. HK: On horses, on... what do you call it... in a coach. Yes, on such... two large wheels, that was a coach, they called it. So they were going, and they met Roma. Or Roma met them. Or they met Roma, or however it was. And they were talking. The nobleman said: how do you live, how do you earn your living? that's what the noblemen asked the Roma. - We, we live from <i>manta</i> .
[22-01]	цігане кáжyт мý з мaнтý жйемо та якá тотó у вáс мa... із якóї мaнтý та мý бы вам кáже указáли айбо туй	The Roma say: we live from <i>manta</i> . -- What is that <i>manta</i> of yours, from what <i>manta</i> do you live? -- We could tell you, they

Recording, minute	Text (22)	Translation
	<p>ниє бо лиші́ли сьме дѣзь_ закопа́ли в зѣмлю там туй ниє коло нас ай йти́ бы за ним за нѣв коби́ сьте нам да́ли ко́ня та пішо́в бы о́де е́ден ці́ганин ага́ но тай на́те та ка́же та йди́т та прине́сете пішо́в тот чека́ют чека́ют ниє то́го ниє то́го з манти́в но тай ниє тай ниє ба шчо́ ниє го йой ка́же то́то я зако́пав а ві́н не мо́же найти́ да́йте нам да́йте нам ко́ня та піду́ й я тай при принесе́ манти́ но тай то́то ви́прягли ко́ня </p>	<p>say, but it is not here, because we left it somewhere, we buried it in the ground there. It is not here, we would need to go get it. If you could give us a horse, then one Roma could go fetch it. -- OK, here is a horse, the nobleman says, come and bring it. So one Roma went off. They were waiting and waiting, the Roma did not come back and did not bring the <i>manta</i>. He is not coming, so where is he? And [another Roma] says, oh, I buried it, and that guy cannot find it. Give us a horse so that I can also go, and I will bring it. Well, they unharnessed the horse.</p>
[22-02]	<p>ка́же а ну́ на сида́й то́т на ко́ня сів но́ ка́же те́пѣрь е́ден тя́гнѣт дру́гий пха́йте ка́же а то́т а то́т пішо́в за манти́в наохте́ма та о́ба ко́ні взя́в а то́та а коли́ то́та ко́чія ся лиші́ла і па́н ся лиши́в і ко́чіс_ ся лиші́в у́сьо</p> <p>ІС ці́ган сів на ко́ня та ка́е здо́рово́ бува́йте</p> <p>ГК айно́ айно́ здо́рово́ быва́йте</p> <p>ІС є́дно тя́гнѣт а дру́гі пха́йте </p> <p>ГК а дру́гі пха́й обы́ е́ден обы́ тя́гну́в а дру́гий бы́ труча́в із за́ду </p> <p>ІС от то́бі і манти́</p>	<p>The nobleman says, get on the horse. The Roma got on the horse and says: now one pull [the coach], and the other, push it. And off he went, and never came back, this way he went to fetch the <i>manta</i>. They took both horses. And the coach remained, and the nobleman remained, and his coachman remained.</p> <p>IS: The Roma got on the horse and says: fare you well...</p> <p>HK: Yes, yes, fare you well...</p> <p>IS: One person, pull it [the coach], the other, push it.</p> <p>HK: And the other, push it. So that one would pull it, and the other, push from behind.</p> <p>IS: That's the <i>manta</i>.</p>

Recording, minute	Text (22)	Translation
	ГК но тай то́бі манта́ тай цига́не та́к із манти́ і жи́ють та́м обманя́т та́м обману́т тай цига́не та́к жи́ють із манти́ но шче́ м ся нагада́ла та д[умаю] у́же і сесе́ оби́ сьте ма́ли	HK: Yes, that's the <i>manta</i> . And the Roma live from that <i>manta</i> . They deceive here and deceive there, and so they live from <i>manta</i> . Well, and also I remembered another story, and I think let it be here, so that you have it.
[22-03]	[сі]ро́ту не жа́луй а жо́ні пра́вду не ка́жі а па́нові гро́... ци па́ну ци ко́му ІС а па́ну гро́шей не зы́ч ГК па́нови гро́шей не зы́ч оно́ так є́ бо бо бы́в у́же чо́длові́к но жо́на тай шчо́сь тото́ го́вора́т тай ка́же чо́длові́к я́ ка́же та́м жи́да а ві́н не за́різав я́ ка́же за́різав жи́да жи́да ка́же айбо́ оби́сь ка́же ни́кому ка́же не каза́ла оби́сь не по́віла но тай ні́ч ра́зь_ ві́н при́ходить ци ви́пивший ци шчо́ тай шчо́сь на жо́ну шчо́сь та́м нача́в ІС е та́ бы? ви́ розка́зуйте ГК ге ІС жи́да поча́ли гля́дати у́же і по́ліція́ і всьо́ жи́д пропа́в а ві́н ся до́говорів із жи́дом я́ тебе́ спря́чу де́сь та бу́ду каза́ти шчо́ я́ тебе́ уби́в но тай туй пішла́ шумі́ха по селу́ ГК бо́ я́ бо́ я́ у́же і забува́ю	Don't pity an orphan, and don't tell truth to your wife, and money... don't lend money to a nobleman? or to who? IS: Don't lend money to a nobleman. HK: Don't lend money to a nobleman, that is right, because... There was a husband and a wife, and they speak, and the husband says: I, he says, I killed a Jew. But he didn't kill this Jew. He said: I killed the Jew, just don't tell anybody, don't tell. OK. So once he comes home, either drunk or what, and started saying something unpleasant to his wife. IS: [unclear] You tell. HK: What? IS: People started to look for the Jew, already the police started searching, the Jew had disappeared. And that man arranged it with the Jew, I will hide you somewhere, and I'll say that I have killed you. So there was unrest in the village.

Recording, minute	Text (22)	Translation
		HK: Because I forget things sometimes.
[22-04]	<p>вші́ткoe</p> <p>IC но жит пропав </p> <p>ГК но тай ніч а він прийшо́в до́мі тай шчо́сь на ... но на жону́ нача́в го́йкати</p> <p>IC а жона́ ка́же я́ никóму не упо́вім бо ка́же жона́ шчо́ ты та́кий сумний хóдиш та ніч та ты́ ми по́ві[ч_] та я́ никóму не упо́вім та я́ тво́я жона́ бо йдо́му ка́зали шчо́ ждо́ні пра́вду не ка́жи та ка́же зна́єш я́ жи́да уби́в шчо́бе́сь не по́... та де́ я никóму не упо́вім но тай да́льше у́же </p> <p>ГК но тай нача́в шчо́зь_ го́йкати а она́ </p> <p>IC за́вів сканда́л та́кий із ждо́нів </p> <p>ГК айно́ чека́й ты́ ка́же жи́да уби́в ка́же та ты́ ка́же я́ ка́же тебе́ заго́лошу ты́ жи́да уби́в </p> <p>IC ви́бігла на у́лицю тай поча́ла го́йкати уби́в жи́да тай мене́ хо́че вби́ти </p> <p>ГК айно́ но </p> <p>IC а ка́зала шчо́ никóму не упо́вісьць </p> <p>ГК но а жона́ </p>	<p>Everything.</p> <p>IS: Well, the Jew disappeared.</p> <p>HK: OK. And the man came home once, and somehow he started shouting at his wife.</p> <p>IS: And the wife says: I won't tell anybody. Because the wife had started asking: why are you so sad? -- Well, nothing. -- But do tell me, I won't tell anybody because I am your wife.</p> <p>Because someone told him not to tell the truth to his wife. -- You know, he says, I killed a Jew. Don't... -- No, no, I am not telling anybody. And then...</p> <p>HK: So he started shouting for some reason, and she...</p> <p>IS: He started an argument, with his wife.</p> <p>HK: Yes. Wait, you killed the Jew, she says. You, she says, I will denounce you, you killed the Jew.</p> <p>IS: She ran outside and started yelling: he killed the Jew and now he wants to kill me.</p> <p>HK: Yes, yes.</p> <p>IS: And she had told him that she wouldn't tell anybody.</p> <p>HK: And the wife...</p>
[22-05]	<p>но та за тто́ шчо́ ка́жут шчо́ ждо́ні пра́вду не ка́жи шчо́ она́ на не́ї не ви́держит</p>	<p>And because of that... People say, don't tell the truth to your wife, because she won't be able</p>

Recording, minute	Text (22)	Translation
	<p>шчо она́ мýсит вѣпѣвити бýть шчо</p> <p> ... </p> <p>а сѣрѣту не жалуй бо сѣрѣта прѣйде тай </p> <p>ІС служѣв одѣн е тѣже чѣлѣвѣк жив сам одѣн і нанѣв сѣбѣ слугý но слугý обычнѣ слугý но айбо тýй прѣйшло ужѣ мѣже і трѣ рѣкы ужѣ чѣлѣвѣк кѣе ужѣ мѣнѣ не трѣба тебѣ забѣраѣ ся ужѣ забѣраѣ ся гѣт ужѣ мнѣ не тр... айбо сѣрот... слугѣ ужѣ і не йде ѣ кѣе ѣ ужѣ тýй прожив туй рѣкы ѣ ужѣ тýй маю маю свѣй ýгол ѣ ужѣ не йде всѣо но тай тýй ужѣ чѣлѣвѣк дав тогѣ у сýд шчо тѣт не хѣче не хѣче йтѣ </p> <p>ГК вѣступѣти</p>	<p>to hold it, she just needs to tell it, whatever the circumstances.</p> <p>[Interviewer: And why should you not pity an orphan?]</p> <p>HK: And don't pity the orphan because the orphan will come and...</p> <p>IS: He served... One man lived alone, and hired himself a servant. A servant, a regular servant. But it happened so, maybe three years later... That man says, I don't need you anymore, go, go, I don't need... But the orph... the servant won't go. He says: I have lived here for these years, I have my own place here, I... and he is not leaving. That man sued him, because the servant did not want to go.</p> <p>HK: To leave.</p>
[22-06]	<p>ІС вѣступѣти хѣжу {с хѣжи} тай подѣв у сýд тай нѣч тай сýд сýдит но чѣлѣвѣк кѣе вѣн трѣ рѣкы чи жив чи не жив мѣже і не жив а тѣт кѣе ѣ жив ѣ шчѣ й тý хѣту кѣе будѣвѣв кѣе ѣ там а давнѣ не бýло гвѣзѣдѣв а о тогѣ колѣ робѣли крѣшѣ тогѣ лѣты там забѣвѣли чѣпами дѣрѣвѣными чѣпами а вѣн пѣшѣв на черѣак полѣчѣв усѣ чѣпы полѣчѣв всѣ чѣпы кѣлько тѣм бýло кѣе на судѣ ѣ тѣлько й тѣлько чѣпѣв натесѣв ѣ сю хѣжу будѣвѣв ѣкшчѣ не вѣртѣте пѣдѣт</p>	<p>IS: To leave the house. So he sued him. OK, there is the court. The man says: he lived at my place for three years, whether he lived that long, whether he did not. And the servant says: I did live there, I actually built that house. Long ago there were no nails, and when people made roofs, they nailed these planks with wooden nails. And he went to the loft, and counted all the wooden nails. He counted the wooden nails, how many were there. And in court he says: I have made that many wooden nails, it was me who built that</p>

Recording, minute	Text (22)	Translation
	порахуйте ты пішли порахували точно тільки чопів а з'відають з'відають уже хозяїна хозяїн не знає кільки чопів а він а він знає но тай шчо но тай тай присудили йому ГК хыжу ІС та не хыжу но	house, and if you don't believe me then come and count. They went, counted the wooden nails - exactly the number he had said. And when they asked the master, the master did not know how many wooden nails were there. So what? The court gave him... HK: The house. IS: Not the whole house,
[22-07]	якусь там частку уже одьдільну комнату ци як ГК обы жив обы там жив ІС но тай кажут шчо сироту не жалуй ГК айно сирота хоть шчо може зробити ІС а пану грошей не зыч якщо ты позычиш пану грошей він тобі николи не віддасыць такий простый віддасыць а пан не віддасыць каж[е] пану гроші не зыч тай то так є ІС вітки самогонка пішла ГК быв чоловік та жона дітей у них не было но тай чоловік пішов орати ІС сам із волами ГК тай га ІС сам один із волами	some part of it, maybe a room or what. HK: So that he could live there. IS: Yes. And that is why people say, don't pity an orphan. HK: Yes, the orphan can do whatever. IS: And don't lend money to a nobleman. If you lend money to a nobleman, he will never pay you back. A common man will pay, but not a nobleman. So they say, don't lend money to a nobleman, and that is true. [Interviewer: I also heard a story once that people had to take their parents to the woods... Did you hear that?] [Interviewer: Please tell me that one!] IS: Where moonshine came from. HK: There was a man and his wife, they did not have children.

Recording, minute	Text (22)	Translation
	ГК sám із волами пішо́в ора́ти	So the husband once went to plough his field. IS: On his own, with his oxen. HK: On his own, with his oxen, he went to plough his field.
[22-08]	тай приходить ід ньому хло́пчик ка́же я́ бы вас ка́же я́ бы ва́м помага́в ка́же быкы́ гони́ти шчо́ но я́ бы вам помага́в та я́ ка́же узьмі́т мене́ ка́же служи́ти ка́же я́ вам бу́ду ка́же помага́ти а чо́ллові́к ка́же я́ ка́же ва́с не во́зьму не беру́ тя ка́же ай пора́димо ся ж_ жо́но́в ка́же та тогды́ ка́же но́ тай при́йдеш за́втра тай та́к то́то бы́ло чо́ллові́к уже то́т де́нь робі́в тай пора́дили ся ж_ жо́но́в уже́ у ве́чєрі но та на́й бу́де тай дру́гий де́нь о́пья́т прихо́дит хло́пчик но ай я́к IC на по́ле ГК но та́ бу́де́ш но тай уже́ та́к і быкы́ хо́дят і всьо́ та́к то́то йде́ чо́ллові́ку шчо́ на на́сіяли на наса́дили сія́... на́сіяли	And a boy comes to him, and says: I could help you drive the oxen or whatever, I could help you, and, he says, take me as your servant, I will help you. And the man says, I won't take you, I won't, but I need to take consult with my wife, and then, [I'll decide,] he says. Well, come tomorrow, he says. And it was so that the man worked that day, and then he talked to his wife in the evening, and she was OK with it. So the next day again, the boy came... IS: To the field. HK: Yes. You will be my servant. And then... and the oxen were going well, and the man was lucky in everything. So they planted... sowed...
[22-09]	зе́рна мно... о́ то́го пше́ніці но тогды́ чо́ллові́к ка́же но та всьо́го є́ всьо́ ка́же є́ но шчо́ бдеме́ с тым робі́ти IC а то́т служіть_ і служі́т ГК а то́т служі́т а то́т хло́пчик ка́же та ні́ч ка́же	a lot of grain, that wheat. And then the man says, there is a lot of everything, what will we do with all that. IS: And the boy keeps serving. HK: And the boy keeps serving. And the boy says, it is OK,

Recording, minute	Text (22)	Translation
	<p>бде́ме мо́лоти та го́рівку ва́рїти </p> <p>ІС іс пше́ніці в осе́ні</p> <p>ГК іс пше́ніці бо пше́ніці є до́ста ай́ як а́ бу́деме́ но та́й хло́пчик то́то намо́лоли причи́нив нава́рили но а те́пе́рь шчо́ но́ клі́чьте го́сьців наклі́кав чо́ллові́к го́сьців а́ бо не мі́г і[x] ізра́дити обы́ оні́ ся ва́дили </p> <p>ІС ізв́ести не мі́х</p> <p>ГК у́же хло́пчик ду́мат та́к та́к то́то то́то обы́ </p> <p>ІС бо чо́ллові́к іж_ ждо́нів ду́же фа́йно жи́ли </p> <p>ГК ду́же фа́йно жи́ли айно́</p> <p>ІС ніко́ли не сва́рили ся</p> <p>ГК а не мі... не мо́гли іх ізра́дити {ізро́бити} обы́ оні́ ся ва́дили </p>	<p>we'll grind it and make moonshine.</p> <p>IS: Out of the wheat, in the fall.</p> <p>HK: Out of the wheat, because there was a lot of wheat. OK, we'll do that. And the boy... So they ground the wheat, started fermenting it, made moonshine. And what now? -- Now, he says, call in guests. So the man called a lot of guests. Because that guy could not make them quarrel.</p> <p>IS: He could not make them quarrel.</p> <p>HK: That boy. He was thinking, how can I do it so that...</p> <p>IS: Because the husband and the wife lived very nicely together.</p> <p>HK: Very nicely, yes.</p> <p>IS: They never quarreled.</p> <p>HK: And he couldn't... they couldn't make them quarrel.</p>
[22-10]	<p>ни́як і ту́йки у́же і заклі́чьте ка́же го́сьців но заклі́кали айбо́ оні́ фа́йно не ва́дять_ ся ніч то́то та́к фа́йно і пью́т у́же го́сьці і го́сьця́ть_ ся і ви́пили є́дін стака́н дру́гий стака́н та́ка во́тка до́бра </p> <p>ІС [ка́же] ди́влят на́ ся спершу́ та́к як лі́сы </p> <p>ГК ага́ ви́пили є́дін ніч ишче́ дру́гий ви́пили та у́же та́кі ве́селе́лі та́к на ся ди́влят іва́н ка́же ги лі́сы </p>	<p>By no means. And then already, he says, call in guests. So they called the guests, but the guests are nice, they don't argue or fight. So they drink, the guests drink. They drank one glass, another glass, the vodka is so good.</p> <p>IS: People say, they look at each other so as foxes.</p> <p>HK: Yes. They drank one [glass] - nothing. They drank another glass, and they are already so happy, they look at</p>

Recording, minute	Text (22)	Translation
	<p>ІС уже́ як во́вци дівля́т оди́н на дру́гого</p> <p>ГК а тре́тий ви́пили уже́ ту́й нача́ли єди́н на дру́гого го́йкати а́ ты́ мні́ та́м переора́в ты́ мні́ пока... переко́сив ты́ то́то мні́ уже́ зроби́в уже́ нача́ли єди́н на дру́гого сусі́ди но́ й ту́й поналива́ли погара́ і́ она́ жона́ щчо́сь прине́сла </p>	<p>each other, as Ivan says, as foxes.</p> <p>IS: They already look like wolves at each other.</p> <p>HK: And when they drank the third glass, they started yelling at each other: you took my land and ploughed it, you mowed my hay, you did that to me... they started yelling at each other, the neighbors. And they poured vodka in their glasses again, and the wife brought something...</p>
[22-11]	<p>ви́льляла стака́н то́ї го́рївки </p> <p>ІС заче́пи́ла яко́сь</p> <p>ГК а чо́лдо́вік уже́ на ну́о но́ уже́ і́х зьви́в уже́ зьви́в уже́ ке́ть </p> <p>ІС а́бо уже́ і́ уда́рив ждо́ну́ і́ вда́рив і́ шчо́ ты́...</p> <p>ГК та ты́ тако́є ви́льляла та то́то не мо́ш тай...</p> <p>ІС то́ б́ыв такы́й рі́шкаты́ ли́ше ви́н не зна́в як і́х як і́х обы́ ся і́звёсти</p> <p>ГК як і́х і́з... і́звё... обы́ оні́ ся ва́дили но́ ай та́к_ і́х і́звьи́в шчо́ оні́ ся му́сили</p> <p>ІС чере́с само́го́нку</p> <p>ГК но́ та чере́с само́го́нку</p> <p>ІС до́ті ні́хто само́го́нку і́ не ва́рив_ і́ не зна́в як то́ </p> <p>ГК і́ ту́йкы нача́ли ся ва́дити се́е то́то і́ ту́й до́ті ся</p>	<p>She turned over a glass of that vodka.</p> <p>IS: She offended him somehow.</p> <p>HK: And the husband already at her... he [the devil] already made them quarrel.</p> <p>IS: And he even hit his wife, he hit her, why did you...</p> <p>HK: Why did you turn that over, it is a bad thing to do...</p> <p>IS: That was he, the horned one, he just did not know how to ... how to make them quarrel...</p> <p>HK: How to make them quarrel, so that they would quarrel. And this way he made them quarrel, so that they had to...</p> <p>IS: Because of the moonshine.</p> <p>HK: Yes, because of the moonshine.</p>

Recording, minute	Text (22)	Translation
	<p> і ва́дили шчо пак я́к ото́ є́нны пішли гі лісы є́нны гі во́вци а трéті переба́ште та́к як сви́ні усьо́ды ся </p>	<p>IS: Before that, no one made moonshine, and people did not know how.</p> <p>HK: And here they started to argue, about this and that, and argued until... some went as foxes, some as wolves, and some, forgive the rude word, as pigs. All over the place,</p>
[22-12]	<p>кача́ли по́ бо́лото́ви і ні́ч не тя́мили че́рез че́рез во́тку но айбо́ ци та́к оно́ є́ ге́ но а ну́ ж а ці́ пью́т у то́му у аме́[риці]</p>	<p>they were rolling in the mud and did not remember anything. Because of the vodka. Yes. Ain't it so? See. And tell me, do they drink in that, in America?</p>

NOTES

1 See an overview of works on discourse, performance, and culture, including folklore, in Scherer [1990: 4 ff.], and on linguistic ethnopoetics in Friedrich [2006: 214 ff.]

2 See Hymes [1975, 1981, and 2003, 370 ff.] for comparison of Alter's findings on Biblical Hebrew narrative and Hymes' own findings on the Chinook myth narrative, and 2003, 435-9 for the list of work on verse analysis for a number of cultures; [Sherzer 1987, 1990, 2001]; [Tedlock 1983], [Urban 1988, 1991], [Webster 2008, 2008a], [Rumsey and Niles 2011], etc.

3 See Lord's explanation of the relation between the performance and the (epic) song's text which emphasizes the role of performance as creation and performer as creator: "Each performance is the specific song, and at the same time it is the generic song. The song we are listening to is 'the song'; for each performance is more than a performance; it is a re-creation" [Lord 1960: 101]; "a song has no 'author' but a multiplicity of authors, each singing being a creation, each singing having its own single 'author'" [ibid., 102].

4 Only a few researchers of folklore given any attention to the textual features of the feedback provided to the story-teller by the audience or to the story-teller's response. Toelken describes listener's reaction to the performer as crucial to the style of performance: "the audience plays a central role in the narrative style" ([Toelken 1976: 155]; see also Toelken [2003: 135-136 and ff.]). For East European folklore that phenomenon has not been well documented. Dégh [1989: 114] notes that while recording Hungarian folklore in the village of Kakasd, she could record only one text that included both the story-teller's and

the listeners' contributions. She lists the types of listeners' comments (including: spontaneous exclamations, commentary, connecting of individual experience, praise for the narrator, impatience, etc. – [ibid., p. 119]), but does not indicate how the narrator reacts, except stating that he answers all questions and “sees encouragement in every commentary, even if it is derisive or expresses doubt” [ibid.] Dégh [1995 (1976)] described the context of an in-house session and the reaction of two performers, husband and wife, to each other's words while the wife was telling belief legends, and the husband, jokes. (The actual event took place in the US, but the performers were Hungarian immigrants.)

5 I am deeply thankful to Anna Ivanivna Zavadiak, teacher at the Novoselytsia high school, and her husband Ivan Iurievych Zavadiak, principal of the same school, who have been helping me since 1986 in so many ways, from introducing me to my informants to helping me afterwards with understanding the language and culture behind certain places in the recording I could not understand myself. I am thankful to HK and IS for letting me be a part of the current story-telling session. I am thankful to all other inhabitants of Novoselytsia who spend their precious time with me, telling me their stories, allowing me an insight into their world.

6 In the text, the notation refers to the minutes in the transcript in Appendix. There are two consecutive recordings transcribed in the Appendix: recording #21, containing the first part of the session, and recording #22, containing the part that took place at the meal table. If the notation reads 21-1:35, the two digits before the dash indicate the recording number, the digits after the dash - the time in hours and minutes in the recording; e.g. 21-1:35 denotes the recording #21, minute 1:35 (i.e., 1 hr. 35 min.) In the text, recording numbers were mostly omitted and only numbers of minutes indicated; if the notation reads 1:15 or 18, the numbers denote minutes. The minutes from 1:04 to 2:05 belong to the recording #21, while the minutes from 00 to 22 belong to the recording #22. Thus, to find, e.g., 1:22 one should find in the Appendix the transcript of record #21 and in it, minute 1:22; to find 03 one should find the transcript of the record #22 and in it, minute 03.

7 See Hymes [1975: 68 ff.], where he distinguishes between the role of a narrator as “performer of a narrative” and as “collaborator in inquiry, to whom the narrative is also partly an object”.

8 I distinguish here, in terms of Hymes [1975: 14ff], between three dimensions of competence in a tradition: the ability to report (tell about), to interpret (explain), and to perform; see also endnote 7.

9 Story titles can play an important role in folklore; [cf. Hymes 1981: 263-272] on the myth and story titles. It seems not to be so for Rusyn story-telling, but more research will be needed to explore this hypothesis.

10 On the role of framing devices in folk poetry and myth see Webster [2008: 448 ff.]. Here the devices are not as sophisticated as the ones he studied, but they certainly play a role in the organization of narrative.

11 Hymes [2003: 380 and elsewhere] states that in Native American myths and oral prose narratives, “initial words and phrases, such as particles

translatable as 'now,' 'then,' 'so,' 'well,'" are used to divide the speech into verses which are "measured," rather than metrical." He researches the rules of composition and grouping of these verses into larger units he calls stanzas in different Native American traditions as well as in English language narrative [Hymes 2003: 102, 305]. Applying these methods to the prose text of the performance from Novoselytsia will be a promising topic for future research.

12 In epics, formulae in strict sense are units which are rhythmical, long, and carry lexical meaning; according to Parry's definition, a formula is "a group of words regularly used under the same metrical conditions to express a given essential idea" [1971: 272]. Foley and Gejin [2012: 404] call formulae "large words," which may be a colon, a line, or multiple lines in length." Regarding the content, formulae vary from noun-epithet phrases to descriptions of whole situations. Formulae are flexible (words inside a formula may vary if rhythmic requirements are satisfied). They are also stackable, e.g., a noun-epithet phrase can be put in a subject position in a formula several sentences long and denoting a standard action, as saddling one's horse. The functions of formulae in the performance are different for the performer and the audience. The performer uses formulae since they allow him/her an opportunity to think, while rhythmically and meaningfully carrying on the performance. The audience enjoys the style and the suspense while the formula describes at length something that could have been just named. At the same time, formulae can organize the performance on the macro-level, e.g., forewarn listeners about specific turns in the plot, as in the case of a formula describing a character saddling his horse points to a coming battle. Formulae also can carry the function of organizing the discourse on the micro-level, e.g., introducing a character's speech, which serves as a type of quotation marks, etc. In this case, they do not have to be lengthy or rich in content. In Homeric Greek, "[t]he small phrase ἀλλ' ἄγε [lit. 'but come, go' - author's note], which occurs 149 times in the Homeric poems, regularly serves two idiomatic purposes: (1) it divides one section of a speech from another, preparing the listener or reader for a change of focus; and (2) it leads to a command or prayer" [Foley, Gejin 2012: 412]. At least three of the functions mentioned above, i.e., providing the performer time to think, creating suspense for the audience, and organizing the performance on the micro-level, are seemingly common functions for both the formulae in oral poetry and the discourse particles, or clusters thereof, in the story-telling performance in Novoselytsia.

13 On the role of repetition, both "exact repetition" and "near repetition" in folkloric texts, see Webster [2008a: 443 ff.], where the history of the research on repetition is traced starting from Jakobson 1960. On the "near repetition," or pleonasm in South Slavic epics, Foley [1996: 21] comments: "this rhetorical and tectonic figure involves partial or complete repetition of a phrase from the preceding line [...] None of these continuations is syntactically necessary; rather each one of them glosses what precedes with what amounts to an optional enrichment of the main thought." We find a similar situation in this story-telling session, if we think in terms of phrases, not lines.

14 That would seem the most probable explanation. Formulaic beginnings and endings in a number of other traditions have been described as characteristic of those prose narratives that are perceived as distinctly fictional, not true; see Bascom [1965: 6] and Tedlock [1983: 164].

15 Tedlock [1983: 165] notices a similar device in explanatory myths of the Zuni and states that a conclusion drawn from a myth, if true, serves as an argument proving the truthfulness of the whole myth: “[e]xplanatory elements, [...] since they refer to real conditions, lend an air of reality to the stories that lead to them. This is paralogism, a literary device described by Aristotle: “Just because we know the truth of the consequent, we are in our own minds led on to the erroneous inference of the truth of the antecedent.” Faulty logic it may be, but Aristotle approved of it as a verisimilitudinal device.”

16 This is a well-described practice for legends; see Bennett [1989: 305 ff.].

17 See Tedlock [1983: 175].

18 The bulk of Western Ukrainian and Rusyn collection of folk tales and stories (Hnatiuk [1897, 1898, 1900], Chubinskii [1872-78], Rozdol's'kyi [1899, 1900], etc.) were dictated and written down by hand, before the advent of recording technology, which totally precluded the recording of the communicative event as a whole, though some ethnographers were very attentive to linguistic features, namely Hnatiuk. The story collection in the appendix to Pan'kevych [1938] contains a number of transcripts of sound recordings, along with hand-written texts that constitute the majority of this collection, but the transcriptions represent distinct stories. Collections of tales and stories from the second half of the 20th c., mostly published as entertainment, also contain only single stories, retold in standard Rusyn [Hyriak 1965] or Ukrainian, sometimes with certain dialectal features, e.g., Khlanta [1989] and Lintur [1979, 1984], and not performance sessions. In the Ukrainian scholarship, such newest collections as Britsyna and Golovakha [2004] contain transcriptions, but not of whole performances, though the context of each story is well documented.

19 See similar conclusions about traditional Ukrainian folklore in Golovakha [2006], based on her fieldwork in Central Ukraine described in Britsyna and Golovakha [2004].

20 On 01.01.2015, 62,9% of Transcarpathian population lived in villages. In 2014, the natural increase in the rural part of Transcarpathia was the highest in Ukraine, +2401 persons (to compare, only in one other region, the Rivne region, there was a natural increase in rural area, 911 persons, and in all other regions of Ukraine, there was natural decline in the rural population); in urban areas, Transcarpathia had the second largest natural increase of population, (after the Rivne region.). [Data from: State statistics of Ukraine, http://database.ukrcensus.gov.ua/PXWEB2007/ukr/publ_new1/2015/zb_nas_14.pdf, accessed August 26, 2015]

21 On the history of editing practices of prose folklore in Ukraine see Britsyna [2006: 58 ff. and passim].

22 Notes on transcription: the text is in Rusyn; however, several issues are presented differently from the standard Rusyn orthography in order to preserve dialectal features: the difference between the open and closed *o* and *e* is marked (the letters *ô* and *ê* are used for the closed sounds); words such as *дѣнь* 'day' are spelled with a closed *ê* rather than with *u*, for example. In addition, stress marks are indicated, and there is no punctuation, except for the sign | which denotes a pause. The sign denotes a place in the recording I was unable to decipher.

23 The number in the first column, e.g., #21-1:04, consists of: the number of the recording (21), and the time in the recording (1 hr 04 min), see endnote 6.

24 In the translation, square brackets [] around a word or a part of a word indicate that this word as such is not present in transcription, but it is implied and in translation it needs to be added for adequate understanding of the text.

25 The sign [...] in transcription indicates the interviewer's words. They are not transcribed, but in the *Translation* column, their English translation is given in square brackets: [].

26 The notation {} presents corrections: if an informant apparently made a speech error, I give their exact words, and then the correct version in {}.

27 The sign indicates an interruption in the recording, where the recording was stopped and later resumed, so a chunk of conversation is missing from the recording.

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